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Art. I. 1. *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, &c.*
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THAT the popular works of an age illustrate its taste and intellectual character, is a principle of criticism sufficiently obvious. When Homer sung, Greece was emerging from a state of simple nature: passions and opinions were unchecked by the artificial customs of a more civilized people. The Iliad and the Odyssey are consequently remarkable for the simple dignity of the manners they describe—a dignity that is wanting in the great Roman poet, whose refinement of sentiment, and pomp of description, are just such as might have been expected in one who had acquired his taste in the court of Augustus. In modern times this sympathy between the works of a popular author and the public mind, has been not less intimate. The poetry and poetic prose of Sir Philip Sydney, like his life, embodied the gallant, chivalrous spirit of the age of Elizabeth; while Scott and Byron are indebted for no small part of the success of their writings, if not for their inspiration, to the excitement and the peculiar taste of our own.

Applying this principle to estimate the intellectual character of the present century, we cannot but think highly of the progress of a truly philosophic spirit—a spirit which we anticipate will be productive of the happiest results.

‘The genius of Bacon.’—‘The influence of his writings.’ These two subjects, though essentially distinct, have been very generally confounded; and the same method of inquiry adopted

in the investigation of them. Inquirers have supposed that to determine his influence, it is only necessary to analyze his genius; forgetting that the knowledge of the one is to be sought for in his writings—of the other, in the history of science. His genius was eminently practical; and, therefore, it has been concluded, his chief merit consisted in having called men off from unprofitable speculations to practical knowledge. Now, if this view of the question be put into the syllogistic form, it will be found that the major or suppressed premiss—that the influence of intellectual men is as their genius—is too unguardedly stated; and therefore the conclusion, though true in logic, may be very safely denied.

A second error, scarcely less injurious, has originated in the application of a rule which, in this case at least, is unsatisfactory, if not deceptive. 'To trace the influence of the writings of such a man as Bacon,' says Mr. Stewart, 'it might be best to compare on a large scale the state of the human mind at distant periods.' This suggestion has been adopted by different writers; and the superiority of modern times attributed to his efforts. Their conclusion is just, but not supported by sufficient evidence. To one who has no time to examine into the state of the question, it appears little better than a hasty conjecture. The importance of the spirit, and method of the inductive philosophy is allowed, but it is by no means clear that the writings of Bacon diffused them.

To the claims of Bacon on the grateful admiration of our times, these errors have been singularly unfavourable. The very nature of his influence is almost as much a matter of dispute as the nature of virtue. Combatants of every school and of every country of Europe have entered the field; each one asserting that such or such a favourite principle was the instrument of his success, and that every other was trivial and uninfluential; while others, as in the contest on virtue, have made him suffer for the very force and abundance of his recommendations. Unable to determine their relative importance they have rejected them all, and held that men would have reasoned not the less soundly and successfully, if his *Organum* had never appeared. Our own impression is,—an impression produced by the frequent perusal of his works, and deepened by an examination of evidence in his favour perfectly overwhelming—that most of his admirers, from Gassendi, who held that the foundation of his fame was the *new logic* of his system, to his last commentator, who holds that it is its *practical tendency*, have had too contracted views of his influence, and that he has not yet received the full praise which his merits have deserved.

In order to form a just estimate of the influence of Bacon, it is essential to fix steadily in our minds, what was the state of sci-

ence and what the methods of investigating truth, previous to the publication of his writings. The systems and methods prevalent in his time he has himself divided, with sufficient accuracy, into three classes—the *sophistical*, the *empirical*, and the *superstitious*. In methods *sophistical*, experience was but partially and carelessly consulted, as in the system of Aristotle; or, as in the physical theories of the later schoolmen, was wholly neglected; its place being supplied by a verbal logic drawn from the philosophy of language: in methods *empirical*, science was founded on a hasty and indiscriminate examination of facts, as in the reasonings of Gilbert, and of Kepler: while, in methods *superstitious*, philosophy was founded on theology, as in the physics of the Platonists and earlier schoolmen.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, however, the first and third of these methods, and the systems that had originated in them, had become somewhat unpopular. The revival of nominalism, a doctrine that involved an important truth on the origin of human knowledge,—the celebrity of the *Comedia* of Dante, whose poetry had expelled the Aristotelian philosophy from the North of Italy,—the success of the chemical and metallurgic arts,—the freedom of thought, which the invention of printing had diffused,—all operated, by their influence, in undermining their authority. Their errors had been detected by the discoveries of Fracastor, Kopernik, and Gilbert; and were now exposed with great bitterness by Ramus and Telesio; while Galileo,—by his zeal and ability, by his uncompromising boldness, and above all, by his brilliant success,—gave to inductive inquiry an impulse, which till his time it had never experienced.*

This state of things was obviously favourable to the development and influence of such a mind as Bacon's—a mind at once philosophic and practical, capable of tracing facts and rules to their principles, and of deducing from principles rules equally practical, but unthought of before—ever ready to appreciate the most speculative inquiries of science, and yet regarding 'the endowment of man's life with new commodities,' as the best possible test of its successful cultivation. The *tendency* of the spirit of the times was with him. That spirit his writings embodied: but, had they never appeared, it is probable that its efforts would have remained as inefficient as they had previously been; at least till the age of Newton, who alone could have effected a reformation such as was effected by Bacon, to whom he bore a strong resemblance in the vigour of his comprehensive faculty, and in the

* See Drinkwater's *Lives of Galileo and Kepler*, in the 'Library of Useful Knowledge;' two of the finest pieces of scientific biography in our language.

child-like humbleness with which he received the lessons of induction.

‘His writings embodied the spirit of the times;’—but they did more. They showed how and why the past efforts of that spirit had been futile and imperfect. They gave to it additional active power; and lastly, they controlled and extended its movements. In other words, Bacon was the first who taught accurately the *philosophy*, the *importance*, the *method*, and the *extensive application* of the inductive process, and is therefore justly regarded as the ‘father of experimental science.’

To the *philosophy* of induction a considerable part of the *Treatise De Dignitate Scientiarum* and of the *Novum Organum* is devoted. After giving a sketch of the state of science in his own age, he proceeds to trace to their origin—as Whatley has done for Romanism—the perverse methods of philosophizing that were then prevalent. He then illustrates the evils consequent upon a neglect of experience and of the right ends of science; and shows the inconsistency of a blind reverence for antiquity ‘in matters ‘where our times are more ancient than those that were before ‘us,’ and of the use of logic, not as a form of argument, but as an instrument of inquiry. The ‘deficiencies’ of the scholastic systems he proves from the confessions of their professed advocates—from the little progress that men had made in the knowledge of nature—and from the ‘barrenness’ of practical results. Finding that, in these respects, there was nothing but failure and disappointment, he concluded that science ‘should be administered’ on other principles.

The defence that Bacon has given of his own method, is founded partly on the necessity there existed for some change, but still more on arguments drawn from the nature of the mind. His whole system was a system of practical nominalism; based upon two great truths—the first, that man’s knowledge of external things is dependent upon observation; the second, that true science rests on the harmonious exercise of all his powers.*

For his remarks on the value of induction—on the rules he has given for its guidance—and on its extension to all the sciences whose ‘deficiencies he has noted’—we must be contented to refer the reader to his works.†

* The importance that Bacon attached to the harmony of the mental powers in all sound methods of science, has been too much neglected. See Degerando, *Histoire des Systemes* i. p. 298. Garat says very justly: *L’analyse de l’entendement humain était instrument de Bacon, comme la Geometrie était l’instrument de Newton.* *Leçons de l’école Normale*, i. p. 155.

† See *De Dign.*; lib. iii. c. 4. *Nov. Org.* i. Aph. 103—6. On the Extension of Induction, see *Nov. Org.* i. 127.

From an examination of the passages to which we have referred, it will be seen that the method of induction did not originate with Bacon. It had been practised by the unlettered of every age. It was practised in his own age by many to whom the *Novum Organum* was unknown. It is practised now by thousands who have never heard his name. Still, however, Bacon was the first who minutely described it: and showed its agreement with the laws of the human mind. Previous to his time, it had been partially adopted *from accident*; afterwards, it was practised on *principle*,* and with more earnestness, because with better hopes of success. The process itself he greatly improved by the application of rules which his sagacity and metaphysical talent enabled him to supply, so that it acquired in his hands a degree of consistency and completeness such as it had not before. He found it in fact an *art*; he left it a *science*.

It is with no little surprise that we have observed, in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review*, a total neglect of this very obvious distinction. The rules which Bacon has given, the Reviewer holds, were not wanted, 'because they only told men 'to do what they were all doing.' This objection, however, unlike the speech which Sheridan wittily characterized as at once true and original in its statements, is remarkable neither for its originality nor its correctness. It has been urged, in the same form, by practical men, against systems of logic, of rhetoric, and of grammar; † and might be urged with equal justice against all philosophic treatises on art or practical science. It is further inconsistent with facts. When Bacon appeared, men were *not* generally practising the method of induction, in the *investigation of nature*, whatever they might be doing in the business of life. The precious reasonings of the schoolmen, to prove that the earth is spherical and that the planets move round it in circular orbits, reasonings adopted certainly from Aristotle, but cordially approved by themselves—the dutiful decision of the Doctors of Pisa, in rejecting the evidence of their senses, because they were able to quote against them chapter and verse from the writings of their master—the notable section of Stubbe, 'on the Deceit-

* As early as 1668, Bacon's merits in this respect seem to have been fully appreciated in France. M. Sorel, in a work published at Paris in that year, speaks of his method as one—'fondé sur les raisons très solides, qui monstrent 'qu'il n' a pas dressé cela à l'aventure, comme ce qu' on fait plusieurs, mais 'avec grande considération.'—*La Science Universelle*, iv. p. 497. No phrase could have expressed more happily the methods of his predecessors than the one he has here used.

† This objection is refuted by Whatley; and still more fully in the *Introductory Lectures* of Professor Rogers, who has applied his principle to an examination of the notions of the Reviewer, and with very good success.

‘fulness of Telescopes’*—his bitter complaints of the ‘changes in the methods of ratiocination,’ which ‘certain arrogant and ignorant experimenters’ had introduced, and of ‘the fetters that had thus been prepared for all ingenuity and learning’—the terms of depreciation in which Rapin and a host of others have spoken of all modern systems, for the most part ‘artificial and ‘pedantic’ when compared with the ‘simple, natural’ science of earlier inquirers†—all these are still remembered, and illustrate sufficiently well how little homage was then paid to the teachings of experience. Appeals to natural phenomena were indeed as heterodox in physics, as appeals to Scripture, in questions of theology.

But though we think thus highly of the rules of Bacon, *connected as they are with fundamental principles*, it is by no means pretended, that the Second Book of the Organum, in which they are most fully explained, forms the most important part of his works. It no doubt displays very remarkably the spirit of almost prophetic divination, with which its author seems to have been endowed, and is, therefore, a good illustration of his genius; but on the progress of science, it has had but little *direct* influence, because in many cases, and especially in the higher classifications, its maxims are not needed. The *first* place must certainly be

* This celebrated Aristotelian is referred to in the well-known paper of Professor Napier, which appeared some years ago in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It is but just to observe, that he is almost the only writer who has investigated the question of Bacon’s influence, as a question of history. Dr. Stubbe has given a very amusing testimony to the merits of Bacon in the preface of one of his works. He assures us that ‘it was to revenge himself of the nation whom he had exasperated, that he diffused heresies in philosophy, and created in the breasts of the English such a desire of novelty as rose to a contempt of ancient ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Indeed,’ adds he, ‘the root of all our present distractions was planted by his hands.’ A little more than a hundred years later, the disasters of the French revolution were attributed to the same cause—the prevalence of the Baconian philosophy. See Degerando, *Hist. des Syst.* 3. p. 580.

† Rapin, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1709, tom. 2. p. 325. He thinks it an honour to Descartes, that his ‘physique est une des plus subtiles et des plus accomplies des Physiques modernes; qu’ils y’a des idées curieuses et des belles imaginations;’ *ib.* 401. The work from which these passages are taken, was first published in 1676, fifty years after Bacon’s death.

The opponents of Galileo, at Pisa, were not alone in their decision, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter of Conringius, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Helmstadt, written about the year 1647. Speaking of Bacon, he says: ‘Homo ingenio fuit vasto, sed nec a veterum doctrina instructus, nec quidquid moderati agitans, dum principatum affectat per novitates in omni philosophia. Veneror ego,’ he adds, in another place, ‘si quis alius, antiquitatem; ut tamen novis inventis locum arbitrer superesse: sunt tamen etiam mihi nova omnia suspecta, usque adeo, ut sæpe sensibus meis reluctetur novum quid adstruentibus.’ *Conringiana Epistolica*, Helmst. 1719, p. 19.

given to the Treatise 'De Dignitate,'—with the exception of his Essays, the most popular of his writings,—and to the First Book of the Organum. They contain his refutation of the errors of previous systems, his defence of induction, his announcement of its value as the instrument of discovery, and his remarks on its application to all those subjects of inquiry in which experience is the guide. Nearly connected with these topics are the profound reflections with which they abound on numerous questions of ethical and political philosophy, which, besides forming an inexhaustible treasure of moral and jurisprudential wisdom, will be found to have exerted no inconsiderable influence on the progress of the sciences to which they respectively refer.

His practical writings in Physics also appear to have been more influential than the importance attached to them by the present generation of readers might seem to imply. The instances which they contain of credulity and groundless hypothesis—and it must be confessed that they are not few—affect the justness of his method of collecting—a method that professedly included many 'things as doubtful,' and 'some as absolutely false'—not of his method of philosophy; while the deep reverence which they indicate for experience, the firm persuasion of its value, and even their extravagant anticipations of its success, were eminently fitted to diffuse the general spirit that pervades his whole system.

In the enumeration of his practical writings, his Essays must not be forgotten. The praises of Voltaire, of Johnson, of Burke, of Stewart, of Mackintosh, and of the popular mind in every age, need not now be repeated. Our business is with their influence.

In the hands of the schoolmen, it will be remembered that ethics had dwindled, in some cases, into an affected pietism, in which its principles were examined in subservience to the scholastic theology; and in others, into a merely speculative science, studied rather for questions of discussion than for the regulation of the affections or life. Both these errors the writings of Bacon were the means of correcting. The first *practical* treatise that originated in them was the 'Discourse of the Passions'—the notion of which was taken, as Mersenne shrewdly hinted, and as Descartes afterwards acknowledged, from the 'De Dignitate' of Bacon. The next work was the 'Medicina Animorum Moralis,' of Placcius, who endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of Descartes, by giving rules for the right regulation of the Passions. During the following thirty years a number of treatises were published on kindred subjects throughout Germany; and most of them on the suggestions of Bacon.* In 1696, Werenfeld published his 'Georgica Animi

* Omeisius De Arte regendi Affectus, appended to his 'Ethics of Pythagoras.' See also the works of Korner, Fitzhoffer, Paschius, &c.

'et Vitæ, seu Pathologia Practica,' in which, as the title intimates, he has done ample justice to his master, he assures us, that Gassendi, Digby, More, Malebranche and others, were all more or less indebted to him, although they had not thought it necessary to acknowledge their obligations.* Shortly after the appearance of this work, the writings of Locke and the discoveries of Newton, called away the attention of philosophers to other pursuits; and since that time, the science of practical morality has been in a great measure neglected.

On the *method* of ethical inquiry his writings were not less influential. 'Nihilo tamen,' says Stolius,—a writer by no means inclined to favour his claims,—after speaking of the Eclectic systems of Schultetus and Keckerman, 'minus vulgata illa et sectaria philosophiam moralem tradendi ratio principatum obtinuit, donec F. Baco illius imperfectionem vividius proponeret; quæque ad emendationem gravissimæ hujus disciplinæ pertinerent, secundum ea quæ ipse cogitabat, indicaret.'† Heumann has expressed a similar opinion;‡ and in consistency with their testimonies, it is found that induction, as taught by him, was applied to the examination of moral questions long before it was thought of applying it to psychological science. As early as the year 1670,—and at the very time when More and Cudworth were reviving in England the Platonism of the school of Alexandria,—a work was written by Placcius,§ Professor of Philosophy in the University of Hamburgh, as a Commentary of the Seventh Book of the 'De Dignitate;' in which he has sketched the history of the progress of ethics, and given rules for collecting and registering facts for the discovery of new principles. His efforts were early appreciated, and were the means of awakening in Germany a still wider attention to the works and merits of his master.

The influence of his writings on *psychology* has been much more fully discussed on the Continent than in this country. Bonald, Schlegel, Degerando, Cousin, and a host of others, have sounded his praises, and have shown most conclusively that the modern science of the mind owes both its origin and its progress

* It will be remembered that Bacon complains of the universal neglect of the 'Georgics of the Mind.' 'Verulamiana Consilia,' says Werenfeld, 'licet primo nos ad laborem suscipiendum impulerint, tamen in ipsa tractatione exactè sequi ubique haud visum est.' 'Quidam,' adds he, 'ejus consilia' tacitè secuti, inter quos Gassendus, &c.

† Stolii Introductio in Hist. Litter. Jenæ, 1728, p. 745.

‡ 'Accuratè vero,' says he, after alluding to the errors of the schools, 'philosophiæ moralis viam primus signavit Verulamius.' Conspectus Reip. Litt. Ham. 1733, p. 239.

§ How justly he had conceived the object of Bacon's philosophy may be seen from Comment iv. De Logica, Historiæque morali et colligendis experimentis moralibus ordinandoque illarum studio. Franc. 1677, p. 186.

to the early and extensive diffusion of his writings. 'The philosophy of Locke,' ought in justice to have been called, as Dege-
rando suggests, 'The Philosophy of Bacon;'^{*} and for this reason, that the grand principle of modern psychology is in fact the very principle on which Bacon has founded his whole system. He tells us again and again, that experience, exterior or interior,—that is, in the phraseology of Locke, sensation or reflection,—is the only origin of human knowledge, and that if men look for the truths of science, either physical or psychological, in the 'dreams of their own fancy,'[†] their attempts at improvement will be entirely futile. 'Francis Bacon thought thus—Man, the minister of nature, understands as much as his observations of it, either *with regard to things or the mind*, permit him, and neither knows nor 'is capable of more.'

The influence of this truth was early seen;—first, in the system of Hobbes and Gassendi, by both of whom 'interior experience' was too much neglected;—and afterwards in the system of Locke. That the two former were greatly indebted to Bacon, is certain; and as soon as the 'Essay' appeared, it is equally certain that its merits, or,—as some deemed them,—its errors, were immediately attributed to the new system. 'I humbly beseech Mr. Locke,' writes one of his ablest opponents, 'that he would unbiassedly 'consider whether (since he cannot suspect his own excellent 'parts) this new way of philosophizing be not the sole cause of all 'his mistakes.'[‡] This 'new way' the same writer, in a work published in the preceding year, characterized as, 'the Experimental 'Method, whose author is that great man, Sir Francis Bacon; 'but which is now demonstrated to be false, both by the confessions of its followers, and by the difficulties which of necessity 'adhere to it.'[§] This explanation of Mr. Locke's 'mistakes' is

^{*} Hist. des Syst. i. 301. 'Bacon a mis au monde,' says Cousin, 'l'école 'sensualiste moderne : mais,' adds he, understanding by sensualism the philosophy of *pure* sensation, 'vous cherchiez en vain dans Bacon les conséquences aux quelles cette école,'—that is, Hobbes and Gassendi, and most of the professed Lockists of France, but not Locke himself, as he seems to have supposed,—'est plus tard arrivée.' Cours de la Hist. de la Philos. i. p. 444.

[†] The celebrated statement of Descartes, 'that nothing comprehensible by 'the imagination can be at all subservient to the knowledge of mind,' a statement which Mr. Stewart calls the foundation-stone of modern mental philosophy, seems but a comment upon the first Aphorism of the Organum. Before it appeared, the works of Bacon had gone through several editions, and were very widely read both in Germany and in France.

[‡] 'Solid Philosophy Asserted, against the Fancies of the Ideists.' By J(ohn) S(mith). Lond. 1697. Pref.

[§] Method of Science, by John Smith. Lond. 1696. Pref. Schlegel has given Bacon the credit of being the author of the 'Philosophy of Sensation,' though

the more probable, from the fact, that such has been the connexion between the method of the *Organum* and the philosophy of the *Essay*, that it is only where the one has been followed, the other has prevailed.

Beside the advantages which the early diffusion of the method of Bacon has conferred on the science of the mind, he has given one of the best possible illustrations of the cautious, sober spirit in which such subjects are to be investigated. Himself possessed of the brightest fancy, he was contented to employ it in the illustration of truth. He infused the very spirit of poetry into his description of facts; while in the investigation of them, he was guided solely by the spirit of the inductive system. His observations on the scholastic question of the nature of the mind—on the limits of its faculties—on the respective provinces of reason and faith in matters of revelation, might be quoted in proof. They afford a singular instance of the combination of a highly poetical style with a philosophy severely rational, and have been of inestimable service to all science, and especially to psychology. They have tended to foster a spirit of inquiry and submission. They have diminished the labour of discovery by confining investigation within narrower bounds, and have thus been the means of saving an incredible waste of effort which had previously been expended in useless or impossible speculation.

We have already stated that the writings of Bacon exercised considerable influence on the progress of a number of questions not immediately connected with the methods of science. To one or two of these we now very briefly refer.

His observations on the power of words are familiar to most of the readers of his works; their originality and importance are perhaps less known. It is remarkable enough that among all the treatises of the ancient metaphysicians, there is not one on this subject. Bacon was literally the first who pointed out the evils resulting from the abuse of words, and from their re-action upon the mind. Locke and Leibnitz adopted his suggestions, and analysed, about the same time, the prejudices to which he had referred. Condillac *professedly* following in the footsteps of Locke, prosecuted the subject to a greater extent than his master, and with still greater success. He explained the use of analogy in the terms of mental philosophy, and illustrated most admirably the connexion between precision in the language of science, and distinct consistent apprehensions of truth. One of the latest and most useful works which may be attributed to the aphorisms of Bacon, is the *Memoir of*

he seems to deny that he was aware of its importance. *Lectures on the History of Literature.* Ed. 1818. ii. p. 22.

Degerando, 'on signs viewed in relation to our intellectual 'operations;' in which he has done ample justice to his writings, as the means of calling attention to this most important of logical questions.*

From the prominence which Bacon has given to topics of this kind, it is very evident, that he thought improvement less dependent upon the culture of the reasoning powers, than upon the correction of those early prejudices and associations that are even now but too prevalent. Their force and number are yielding, though slowly, to the influence of education, by which alone they can be overcome. Should the expectations of Reid and Stewart of the coming improvement of mental science ever be realized; and the laws of the intellectual world be as clearly ascertained as those of the material, how greatly will the men of that day be indebted to *him* who had so often and so forcibly taught, that truth would not deign to unveil herself to her worshippers till all the 'idols' in her temple had been removed.

His remarks on Universal Grammar, on Rhetoric, on Traditive Logic, on the History of the Sciences, and above all, on the Philosophy of Law,† are equally original, and might be shown to have exerted no little influence on the modes of thinking prevalent in our own times.

To ascertain the influence of his writings on *physical science*, the one of two methods might be adopted. It might either be shown that they contain all the elements of influence fitted to effect a change, and that they were extensively circulated; or it might be sufficient to quote the testimonies of philosophers who professed to have been weaned from the scholastic systems by the perusal of them. It would clearly be most satisfactory, however, if these different methods were combined.

In the very able article to which we have already referred, Bacon's merits are represented as mainly dependent upon the 'motives for performing well the inductive process with which he 'supplied inquirers.' He appealed to their self-interest. Like Hannibal, he promised them broad acres in the region to which he wished to lead them. He offered them Rome for Carthage; the sunny fields of Italy for the wastes of Libya. He assured them that would they but set out with him, their lives, and the

* Des Signes et de l'Art de penser considérés dans leur rapports mutuels. Paris, An. viii. Pref.

† The works of Grotius and of Bp. Cumberland on this subject, originated in the suggestions of Bacon. It is remarkable that in a book written by Naudé—one of the friends of Campanella, and an admirer of Bacon—the author shows throughout that the science of government is strictly experimental. 'Considerations Politiques sur les coups d'état.' Paris, 1653, pp. 37, 75, 42, 240.

lives of their children should be prolonged; 'their pains mitigated, their diseases extinguished.' He bribed them in fact into truth, by the promise of happiness.

It is needless to remind the reader that most of these promises have been redeemed; and that provinces richer and more extensive than were ever dreamt of in the philosophy of the most ardent of alchemists, have rewarded the efforts of his followers. It is allowed further, that Bacon tried the systems of the schools by their fruitfulness in practical results, and was contented that his own system should be tried by the same criterion. What we question is, that either he or any of the more illustrious of his disciples ever made it the *immediate* standard or the principal motive of successful investigation. We have never read that the Florentine academicians were induced to make experiments on the pressure of the atmosphere, or on the theory of flotation, in the hope that their conclusions would be applied to the construction of fire-engines or of fifty-gun frigates; or that Black would never have devoted a moment to the subject of latent heat but for the persuasion that his pupil Watt would apply his principles to the invention of the noblest piece of mechanism with which art has ever been endowed; or that the ecstasy of the discoverer of the hydrostatical paradox was at all augmented by a vision of himself—*alter et idem*—crushed between the plates of a Bramah's press; or that Herschel's discoveries connected with Jupiter's satellites had any reference whatever to the voyagings of his descendant to the 'far South,' for the purpose of making discoveries that are to contribute to the happiness of descendants still more remote. We have never read that Dollond's glasses were even thought of by Newton in his analysis of light; or that the splendid generalizations which have immortalized his name have ever been directly fruitful 'in the relief of man's estate,' unless it be in 'the relief' of the memory, by expressing, in one line, the observations and discoveries of centuries. We know well that science has been productive of the happiest results: and so has morality; but he that cultivates science with a constant reference to the benefits it confers, will, in the end, be no more a disciple of Bacon than the selfish man is a disciple of virtue:—and so thought Bacon himself: for, in one of the very aphorisms the Reviewer has quoted, he complains that too many of his own time were contented with present fruits, or with two or three new discoveries, and that, in consequence, the sciences in all their completeness had been neglected. It is scarcely necessary to add, in confirmation of these statements, that one of the branches of inquiry which has been most successfully cultivated, and is now among the most popular, Astronomy, has been one of the least *extensively* 'fruitful.'

The reasonings by which the Reviewer wishes to prove the

inutility of the rules which Bacon has given for the guidance of the inductive process, seem equally ill-founded. To take his own illustrations, it would follow, if his arguments were conclusive, that,—because Tell would not have been a whit the more likely to cleave the apple, had he known the nature of the curve which the path of the arrow would describe, therefore the study of the theory of projectiles is in all cases an useless task; or—because Captain Barclay could walk his thousand miles in a thousand successive hours, without a knowledge of the name and place of every muscle of the leg, therefore anatomy may be struck out of the curriculum of medical study; or because a Londoner never misplaces his *will* and *shall*, therefore all such rules as Campbell has given for the guidance of his unfortunate countrymen are libellous and impertinent; or—because men spoke eloquently before treatises on rhetoric were written, therefore it is folly to read them. The argument is this—that, if a man can use a complicated instrument, his skill in the use of it cannot be augmented by a knowledge of its working or make; a statement tolerably correct, so long as it works regularly and well: but if the workman be ignorant of its use, or if he have to modify it, in its parts or in the adaptation of them, so as to fit it for other work, he must examine it thoroughly, and make himself acquainted with the position and use of every lever and every wheel. Just such an instrument is induction. At first it was rude and imperfect; afterwards it became more complex and more useful. In its simplest form it was described by Aristotle. In the times of the schoolmen it was universally known, and, in matters of philosophy, as universally neglected; being used only for the purposes of common life. Kepler added a few wheels, and gave a somewhat whimsical account of it and of his own improvements. By Galileo, who was an incomparably superior man, a few practical changes were introduced. By Bacon it was minutely described, and ultimately perfected. It may be called the same tool in the hands of Kepler and of Wells: just as we speak of the steam-engine of the Marquis of Worcester and the steam-engine of Watt: but, between the induction of the one and the induction of the other, there is as wide a difference as between the admirable paper of the one on the ‘Theory of Dew,’ and the fortunate guesses and fantastical reasonings of the other on the ‘Copernican System.’

The *means* of the influence of Bacon, however, is a subject of less interest, at present, than its extent and progress. The question is not, how that influence was attained; but, whether it has been so extensive as to warrant the title which has been given him, of ‘Father of Experimental Physics.’ This question we answer affirmatively—the opinions of Biôt, and Brewster, and Coplestone notwithstanding—and now proceed to sketch briefly the history

of the influence of his writings on the advancement of physical science.

It was in this country that Bacon first succeeded in awakening attention to the importance of experiment in the investigation of natural phenomena. On the Continent, the logic and the philosophy of his writings were for some time the only subjects of discussion, the end being forgotten in the study of the means; while in England, his rules were reduced to practice within a very few years after his death. As the paper of Professor Napier is known to most readers who feel an interest in this question, we refer them for the opinions of Wallis, Wilkins, Childrey, and other members of the Royal Society, to the passages he has quoted, and content ourselves with giving a few additional testimonies.

The first experimenter to whom we refer is Sir Kenelm Digby, the earliest experimental chemist, after Roger Bacon, whom this country can boast. From his letters to Fermat, the French mathematician, it may be seen that he regarded Bacon as his master: he seems also to have performed a number of experiments on the motion of bodies, in answer to the queries in the Fifth Book of the '*De Dignitate*.*' About the same time, treatises were published on Optics and Mechanics, in which the authors, professing to follow Bacon as their guide, relate the results at which they had arrived by the inductive process.† The testimony of the enemies of the *Baconian* philosophy, as it now began to be called, is not less conclusive. One of the Fellows of Sidney College, and a friend of Otto Guericke's, complains that Bacon's authority in all matters of science was, in his time, universally acknowledged, and that, in consequence, his followers had become worshippers of those very *idola theatri* which he himself had condemned.‡ The bitter invectives of Ross and Stubbe against the '*Baconical philosophers*,' are too generally known to be repeated.

From these testimonies—and they might be augmented by at least fifty more—it may be concluded that the inductive philosophy, as cultivated by Digby, Boyle, Hooke, and Newton, owed its origin and most of its triumphs, in England at least, to the efforts of Bacon.

* See Sloane MSS. 63, pp. 122.

† See especially, '*Elementa Opticæ, nova facili et Compendiosa Methodo, explanata.*' Lond. 1651, p. 5, 9, 102, &c.

‡ De plenitudine Mundi, Lond. 1660, Pref. '*Nos haud dubiâ fide accepimus, medicos quosdam non modò in ejus sententiam totos abiisse, verum et eo nomine historiam densi et rari magnificare. Adeo nimirum invaluit Verulamii summa auctoritas.*' By his rejection of Teleology in the investigation of nature, Bacon incurred the suspicions of the '*school divines*,' among whom we regret to find the names of More, Parker, and Cudworth.

In Germany and Holland his notions were popular, though not practised, at least ten years earlier than in this country. The comparison of Campanella and Bacon, by Tobias Adams, in 1623, (whatever may be thought of the critical judgment it displays), shows that his method was even then understood and appreciated. In the following year a strong controversy was raised on the merits of the *Organum*. Both combatants seem to have had an accurate knowledge of the intentions of the author, and one of them, after giving an admirable outline of his method, expresses his confident hope that it would be the means of effecting a reformation in philosophy;*—a hope that was realized within a very few years: for, in 1639, we are told by a celebrated Protestant divine and Grammarian, that induction, as taught by Bacon, was then extensively practised, and had proved eminently successful.†

Between this period and the establishment of the *Academia Naturæ Curiosorum*, in 1652, we have a number of testimonies equally satisfactory. In an Academical discourse, delivered at Leyden in 1648, the writer, after noticing the importance of ‘dismissing from the mind all idols,’ and assuring his hearers, in a well-known phrase of Bacon’s, ‘that nature can be overcome only by submission,’ adds:—‘*Hæc fuit via trita et calcata Aristoteli et præclaris omnium semper seculorum ubivis gentium ingeniis, ac nostro seculo Ill. Verulamio in aureo opere institutionis magnæ et de Augmentis Scientiarum.*’‡ How far this eulogium was merited either by the Stagyrte or by those ‘choice spirits’—*præclara ingenia*—on whom it is bestowed, is of little moment: it is sufficient that the passage betrays an intimate acquaintance with his writings, and a deep sense of their value. In the Universities of Leipsic, Rostoch, Jena, Erfurt, &c., they were early studied, and, as may be seen from the Academical Theses of the time, were productive of the happiest results.§

After the formation of the ‘Academy,’ which, according to Valentine and Buchner, owed its origin to the spirit which his writings had diffused, his influence became still more extensively felt. In a few years, it was the means of overturning, not only the scholastic system, but also the philosophy of Descartes, which,

* Sloane MSS. 432, p. 132. The date is determined from internal evidence. See p. 147.

† *Pansophiæ Prodomus*. Lond. 1639, p. 46.

‡ *Oratio de rectâ philosophicè disputandi ratione*. Lug. Bat. 1648, p. 43. See *Philosophia Naturalis*, Auct. Heereboort. Oxf. 1668.

§ Many Theses were written between 1640 and 1650, *De Vita et Morte*, *De Ventis*, &c., in which Bacon is spoken of as the highest authority. The ‘*Tractatus Physici*,’ in the British Museum, abound with testimonies to his influence.

it is well known, was early popular in Holland. ‘Usque adeo ‘exosum (says Sturm) est hodiè Cartesianorum nomen non tantum ‘Theologis ac Philosophis bene multis, sed integris quoque ‘Collegiis Germaniæ nostræ, ut Cartesianus qui audit, gravi ‘videatur multis urgeri convitio.’* This unpopularity of Cartesianism he elsewhere attributes to the ‘universal diffusion of the ‘experimental method of the immortal Bacon.’†

The opinions of the later members of the ‘Academy’ may be summed up in the language of Puffendorf, who tells us, that ‘it ‘was he who first raised the standard and urged on the march of ‘discovery: so that if philosophy has received any improvement ‘in our times it is greatly owing to his efforts.‡

In the South of Europe, the authority of Bacon was early established. In Italy, his writings were highly appreciated; and many of the members of the numerous *experimental* Societies, which the efforts of Galileo had multiplied, attributed the ‘origin ‘of the new philosophy’ to his writings.§ In Switzerland, he was very early regarded as the first and most successful cultivator of natural science.|| To his influence it is probably owing that Locke’s philosophy was first understood in that country: this much at least is certain, that Cronsaz, the first *true* disciple of Locke on the Continent, was also a great admirer of Bacon, whose writings, as he assures us, ‘had very much aided the progress of inductive science.¶

The introduction of the experimental method into *Scotland* is also to be attributed to his influence. A curious and interesting account of this fact is given by Sinclair—a person of considerable celebrity in his day,—in a *Treatise on Gravity*, published at Rotterdam, in 1669.** In the preface he gives a description of the state of physics, and tells us that, when Professor of Natural

* Sturmii pref. Disput. de Cartesio et Cartesianis.

† Philosophia Eclectica. Altdorf. 1686. So says Valentine, ‘E Germanis plures, si non omnes, hanc Experimentalem philosophandi methodum ‘admittunt.’ Armentarium Naturæ et artis. Gissæ. 1709, p. 25.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Napier from Blount. The works of Langelott, Becke, Tilleman, Major, Volder, Senguerd, Leichner, Barner, Struvius, Reinhard, &c., &c., of Boerhaave, and especially the ‘Œuvres Philosophiques,’ Raspe, of Leibnitz may be consulted in confirmation.

§ This fact is acknowledged by Lamezan, himself a Cartesian, *Elementa Phil. Veteris et Novæ*, Vien. 1730, p. 142.

|| See a letter written in 1666, by Slusius to Oldenburg, in Boyle’s Works, vol. v. p. 373.

¶ Art of Thinking. Lond. 1724, ii. p. 149; first published in 1712. Cronsaz was the first continental philosopher who understood the doctrines of Locke as explained by Mr. Stewart. See also Heineccii ‘*Elementa Hist. Phil.* iv. § 107.

** ‘*Ars Nova et Magna Gravitatis et Levitatis*,’ Pref. Roterod. 1669.

Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, he happened to obtain a copy of the 'De Augmentis,' with which he was so delighted, that he immediately determined to follow its recommendations, and for that purpose devoted some hours each week to lectures on the importance and objects of experimental inquiry. The results of his experiments he had intended to publish, but found that the discoveries of the Royal Society had superseded them. His success, however, together with the exertions of Maclaurin and of the two Gregories, contributed not a little to the early adoption of the philosophy of Locke and Newton, in that country, as a branch of Academical education.

The history of his writings in France is one of the best possible illustrations of the close connexion between their influence and the progress of experimental science. During the first fifty years after the publication of the *Organum*, his authority was very extensively acknowledged. Poets, philosophers, mathematicians, advocates—all united in admiring his method and in celebrating his praises. 'However numerous and important be the discoveries reserved for posterity,' was their language, 'it will be always just to say of *him*, that he laid the foundation of their success; so that the glory of this great man, so far from diminishing with the progress of time, is destined to receive perpetual increase.*' So said Gassendi, 'the Bacon of France,' as Dege-
rando calls him; and so said Diodati, and Awray, and Peiresc,—and so said they truly. But with all this admiration of his works, and with all the freedom of thought which the struggles of the Cartesians and Gassendists had produced, the scholastic philosophy continued to be the ascendent system, even after the publication of the philosophy of Newton. Nor did it give place to the doctrines of Descartes till Newton had overturned them. As late as 1730, Regis and Rohault were the text-books of the learned, while Locke and Newton, and even Aristotle himself, were neglected.

The truth is, that for one hundred years after his death, the writings of Bacon were more praised in France than read, and more read than practised;—an inconsistency which D'Alembert ascribes, with a show of justice at least, to the peculiarities of their national character. 'Our nation,' says he, in his 'Discours Preliminaire,' 'has a particular regard for novelties in matters of taste, but is extremely attached to old opinions, in matters of science. Whatever is of the sentimental kind must be obvious to us, and ceases to please, if it do not strike us immediately; but the ardour with which we receive it presently cools, and we

* See Gassendi, *Opera* i. p. 55; and *Precis de la Philos. du Ch. Bacon* par Deluc. Paris, 1802, i. p. 35.

‘grow disgusted as soon as gratified. On the other hand, when we attain to possession after long meditation, we are desirous of making the enjoyment as lasting as the pursuit.’*

At length, however, the writings of Maupertius, the Letters of Voltaire,† and the Essays of Condillac,‡ brought the method of Bacon more prominently into notice. The ‘discourse’ of D’Alembert, and the ‘Analysis of his Philosophy’ by Deleyre, completed his triumphs; and since the appearance of these works, he has been studied and honoured by their writers and philosophers, both as the author and the restorer of inductive science in that country.§

The influence which Bacon’s writings had exerted in Germany was early extended to the North of Europe. The Royal Society of Petersburg, founded in 1725 on the plan of the Society of London, was one result of the spirit which they had diffused. In the introductory discourses delivered at the first meeting of its members, he was expressly recognised as the master by whose precepts all experimental philosophers professed to be guided. A like tribute was awarded to him, in the following year, at the formation of the Royal Society of Sweden. ‘*Communia illa sunt,*’ says the author of one of the discourses delivered on the former occasion, ‘*Communia illa sunt, si strictius de scientiis dici aliqua velitis: appositè magnus Angliæ cancellarius, idemque melioris in disciplina physica methodi proculus et auspex, illustris Baco.*’||

In looking over the testimonies and facts that have now been adduced, it will be found that the conclusion they warrant us in forming is one in the highest degree favourable to the character and influence of the writings of this great man. We have seen that they contain all the elements necessary to effect a reformation, valid reasons in defence of induction, rules for its guidance, spirit-stirring precepts enforcing its application. We know that within fifty years after his death, they were most widely circulated throughout Europe;¶—that the Royal Societies of England,

* *Melanges de D’Alembert.* Amst. 1763, i. p. 150.

† *Letters on the English Nation*: Letter xii.

‡ *Essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines*, in his ‘*Complete Works*,’ xx. p. 510.

§ The philosophers of France always speak of Bacon in terms of praise, which, if applied to any other man, would be deemed extravagant. See *Ency. Method. Art. Baconisme* by Naigeon, and the *Works of Condorcet, Garat, &c.*

|| *Sermones in primo Academiæ Scientiarum conventu recitati.* Petrop. 1725, p. 22; and *Commentarii*, ib. i. pref.

¶ In 1665, the *Treatise De Dignitate* had gone through Eighteen editions, of which eight were printed abroad, and of the remaining ten, four were in Latin. Up to the same time, the *Sylva Sylvarum* had gone through Twelve

of Germany, of Russia, of France, all owe their origin either directly to their recommendations, or to the spirit they diffused;—that they were the means of introducing the ‘new philosophy’ into Scotland; of reviving and extending it in France; of converting the ethics of the schools from a dry fruitless system into a practical science; of aiding, if not originating the modern philosophy of the mind, and of throwing light upon a thousand collateral questions to which they but briefly refer;—that many philosophers were won over to the experimental method by the perusal of them; and lastly,—that most of the celebrated writers on science and inquirers, both in this country and abroad, have honoured him as their legislator and guide. From these facts, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that for past triumphs and for future discovery, experimental philosophy, in all its departments, must be indebted to the influence of the writings of Bacon, and to the character which they impress upon every succeeding age.

‘For past triumphs, experimental philosophy is indebted to the ‘writings of Bacon:’—if so, the reader will study them with fresh interest, and with a deeper sense of their sublimity. They are sublime in eloquence and in genius; but still more sublime in the influence they have exerted on the intellect of Europe. With what strange delightful feelings should we take up for the first time the volumes that contain them, were we to remember that there is not a page, and scarcely a paragraph, but has added to our comfort or promoted our improvement!

‘For future success, experimental philosophy must be indebted ‘to the influence of the writings of Bacon.’ The triumphs of induction are not yet completed; they are but begun; and in every department of inquiry, in human science, and in theology ‘the Sabbath and port of man’s labours,’ triumphs greater than those of the past are yet to be achieved, before the whole of the intellectual globe can be called our own. The study of the writings of Bacon is still needed; and needed almost as much now, as it was needed in his own time. The idols he condemned were not the idols of *his* age or of another; they were the idols of our nature: they may be banished, but only for a season: they return with every new race; and it is only by constant watchful-

Editions; the History of Life and Death, Sixteen; the History of the Winds, Eight, four of which were printed in Holland, and two in France.

In 1669, the new Atlantis had gone through Seventeen Editions, seven of which were printed abroad. In the same year, the ‘De Dignitate’ was prohibited in Italy. In 1677, the Novum Organum had reached the Ninth Edition. It was printed at Leyden in 1645, and in 1650, 1660 at Amsterdam. The other six editions were printed in England.

ness and effort, that the 'temple of truth' can be kept undefiled by them.

In no science is the practice of the spirit and of the rules of Bacon more requisite than in theology—a spirit, in this instance, eminently consistent with the character of an humble, devout Christian. In no science has idol-worship been more prevalent; and in no science can idol-worship be more sinful; for *here*, it is rebellion against the very majesty of truth. Errors and prejudices of every kind have been handed down, like the family-gods of ancient Rome, from father to son, for ages; or where the errors themselves have become extinct, their ghosts, in the shape of scholastic phraseology, occupy their place, and become in turn the objects of worship; while the fair form of truth is neglected. Would any one but apply to the creeds of Europe what Bacon has said on the abuse of words, or on the rashness of pushing investigation beyond the limits of Scriptural statement, and strike out, not as untrue, but as trivial or uncertain, whatever implies a violation of his precepts; how few and simple would be the articles left after such an erasement:—or could he but collect and destroy all the books that have been written on 'subjects unfit 'for human inquiry,' by what millions of pages would our public libraries be diminished. There would be found wanting, nineteen volumes out of every twenty of 'the Fathers,' and the twentieth catalogued with Ecclesiastical History or Christian Antiquities:—gone, of the writings of the Reformers, four volumes out of every six—the fifth volume catalogued with 'Commentaries,' and the sixth, saved by its appeals to the Bible as the religion of Christians, catalogued with the First Book of the Organum:—and of modern Treatises on the Decrees, on Necessity and Freedom, and others of the five points, whole reams of reasonings. As lovers of *metaphysique*, we should regret the loss of arguments and subtleties, that had so often amused and gratified, even when they fell short of conviction; but, as lovers of the unity and happiness of the church; as lovers of *Scripture-facts*, but not of *human explanations* of them; our feelings of regret would be softened at least, if not brightened, by the thought, that after so awful a catastrophe, Christians might possibly be induced to think less of discussions on the secret things of the Bible, and more of the importance of inquiry into the things that are revealed. We should mourn as Bacon might have mourned if a second Amroo had destroyed every copy of Aristotle in Europe—the glosses and perversions of every Commentator included:—or as the nephew of King René *did* mourn on the death of a troublesome friend, Queen Margaret of Anjou. Sad we should feel, —and yet it would be a relief to know that they were gone, and that their interests were not likely again to clash with interests dearest to ourselves.

These thoughts have been suggested, we confess frankly, by the series of publications, in which the edition of Bacon's works, noticed at the commencement of this article, appears. We have not been in the habit of finding his name in company with those of John Howe, Jonathan Edwards, and Jeremy Taylor. The association, however, is much more appropriate than might at first be supposed. To the student every volume of this series will prove a treasure; but were we asked, which of them it is most important that the student of theology should master, we should answer unhesitatingly, by all means, the last. Let him study Bacon—and having imbibed his spirit, and 'converted into the substance of his own mind,' the precepts he has laid down for his guidance, let him take up the Bible as a collection of passages revealing the highest truths—let every passage on any given subject be examined and interpreted consistently—let the conclusions *induced* be just as comprehensive as the proof-passages will justify—let no explanations of doctrines be offered as *credenda*, which the record has not given—in other words, let the principles of the philosophy of Bacon be applied to the *interpretation* of the Bible, and let them be so applied universally, and 'the unity of the faith' will be very speedily attained.

Believing then that the cultivation of the spirit of the inductive philosophy is second, in its influence on the union of the church, only to the cultivation of the spirit of love—and no one will quarrel with us for preferring the right state of the affections to the right exercise of the intellect—we cannot but regard the works of Bacon, published in a cheap and handsome form, as a most valuable accession to our theological literature. We commend them, therefore, most heartily to the theological student.

To the present edition is prefixed an elaborate history of his life and works, written in language strong and nervous, but occasionally deficient in taste. Of Bacon's moral character the writer thinks less favourably than Montagu, and less harshly than Pope; and probably with justice. His analysis of the works of Bacon is one of the fullest we remember to have seen, and cannot but be useful to the student. We should have preferred, however, an analysis of his intellect to an analysis of his writings,—such as may be found prefixed to the works of Taylor. The truth is, that no analysis of them—or at least of the philosophical parts of them—can now be of great advantage. If it be general, it gives no idea whatever of the man or of his merits; and if it be minute, it becomes tedious, because unrelieved by the beauties which may be said to illustrate rather than to adorn the sentiments of Bacon himself. 'It is sufficient,' as Dr. Johnson would have expressed it,—'it is sufficient for the writer to have done better than others what no man can do well.'

- Art. II. 1. *British Colonization in New Zealand.*
2. *The Principle, Objects, and Plan of the New Zealand Association. Examined in a Letter to Lord Glenelg.* By DANDESON COATES, Esq.
3. *Mr. Dandeson Coates and the New Zealand Association ; in a Letter to Lord Glenelg.* By E. G. WAKEFIELD, Esq.
4. *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements).* Re-printed with Comments by the Aborigines Protection Society.

WHEN the British government, in that impatient spirit of legislation which, satisfied with the removal of a temporary difficulty, overlooks or disregards all ulterior consequences, resolved upon establishing a gaol on the recently discovered shores of New South Wales, they were far from anticipating the results of this step. They could not suppose that thus would be laid the foundation of colonies destined to advance with almost unexampled rapidity in wealth and greatness, but whose prosperity would be cankered by vices of the most appalling character pervading every part of the Society. Still less probably did they imagine that the settlements thus formed would prove instruments of oppression and wrong to the nations by whom the islands of the Southern Sea as well as the coasts of Australia were peopled. It is not to be supposed, but that had they been aware of the character of the machinery they thus set in motion, some hesitation would have been manifested in purchasing a mere momentary relief to this country at so disastrous a price. Some measures would assuredly have been taken to guard against the worst consequences of their plan, and they would hardly have felt themselves justified in casting out from English society the very dregs of the nation, leaving them to carry to other lands the vices and habits which had made them exiles from their own. To do the government of that day justice, however, it must be confessed, that beyond the immediate object of emptying the crowded and unhealthy prisons of Great Britain, they had no purpose, save such as might flow from some vague idea of extending, even by so hazardous and uncertain an experiment, the colonial possessions of the empire. We do not refer to this absence of evil design as an excuse for their conduct. A very moderate acquaintance with the history of colonies might have taught them what were the probable, and indeed inevitable consequences of their act, and wilful ignorance can never be pleaded as a justification of wrong. We have adverted to this instance solely for the purpose of showing the imperative necessity of weighing deliberately and dispassionately all the consequences of any undertaking in which wide-spreading results are involved, especially

where these consequences embrace in their sphere the interests of individuals or communities who have no means of protection or escape.

The works prefixed to this article refer directly or incidentally to a project now set on foot under the auspices of a Committee of noblemen and gentlemen, for the Colonization of New Zealand. Against this project, Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, has vehemently protested, in the pamphlet to which his name is affixed. Considering the magnitude of the consequences involved—that on the one hand, the utter extermination of the New Zealand race by unjust warfare, by fraudulent aggression, and by the vices and diseases that civilization brings in its train, is confidently predicted; and that on the other their preservation from these evils, and their elevation into a civilized and christian community, is declared to be the object and the assured result of the foundation of a well regulated colony on their territories; we propose to devote a few pages to an examination of the proposed plan, and of the objections that have been urged against it,—so far as the fate of the New Zealanders is involved.

Apart from experience there would seem no ground for supposing that the establishment of a civilized community in the immediate neighbourhood of a savage race, would be injurious to the latter. We might rather be led to suppose that the reverse would be the case,—that the uncivilized tribes would be gradually weaned from their barbarous practices, and that, convinced by daily observation of the superior advantages of steady industry, and of regulated habits, they would relinquish the usages to which they had been accustomed, and gradually conform themselves to the more elevated standard placed before them. It requires, indeed, a very large and comprehensive deduction from undoubted facts, to assure ourselves that this is not the case, and when even the actual operation of the colonies of civilized nations upon the uncivilized races within whose territories they are established has been clearly shown, we are irresistibly impelled to seek for some satisfactory solution of the apparent anomaly. We cannot admit it to be an inevitable result without denying the capacity for intellectual, moral, and social progress of all but those races who have already attained civilization. We must, therefore, look to the circumstances under which colonies have been founded, to the principles by which they have been regulated, to the objects they have pursued, and the manner in which these objects have been sought, for an explanation of so mysterious a phenomenon. And when through such an examination we have found the cause of past evils, we may not unreasonably hope at the same time to discover the manner in which the occurrence of similar evils may be prevented for the future. If indeed, as

seems sometimes to be imagined, no remedy can be discovered, we must expect to see the native tribes of North and South America, of the whole extra tropical region of South Africa, of Australasia, and of the Polynesian groups swept away by an irresistible destiny. The work of devastation and destruction has commenced, and upon this hypothesis no power can arrest or divert its progress.

Are we, however, complacently to fold our hands in prospect of evils so appalling, or content ourselves with vain exclamations against their perpetration? Can we in fact believe that this is the unavoidable doom of millions of our fellow-creatures; that when the predicted period shall arrive in which the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, not one of these tribes shall remain in existence to share in its blessed influences, and exult in its glorious hopes! Is not the conclusion one to which we ought to allow ourselves to be led by none but the strongest and most irrefragable chain of demonstration? If it be indeed true, then from this time forth Government may cease to trouble itself with the protection of the Aboriginal tribes of any of our settlements, and philanthropic individuals may rest from attempts to improve their condition—the whole question relating to them would but be one of time, and it would seem a matter of very little importance whether one or two generations are to be occupied in the work of extirpation. In this view the almost exterminated Hottentots are less to be pitied than the Caffres. The former have reached that place where the wicked cease from troubling; their sufferings are terminated—the tale of their injuries is complete. To the other, remain unavailing struggles and ruinous submission in melancholy alternation; they have yet to witness the occupation of their immemorial heritage by the rude and ferocious boor—the burning of their habitations, and the slaughter of their wives and children; they have yet to find themselves standing at last in sight of the land in which they had grown from infancy to manhood, with no means of subsistence except such as they might derive from the plunder of their relentless oppressors, and to know that after a few more years of privation and suffering, their wrongs and their race would terminate together. And if this *must* be the result, if, in the language of a witness before the Aborigines Committee, quoted approvingly by Mr. Dandeson Coates in the pamphlet at the head of this article, we ‘may have a short respite after having driven panic into the people, but must come back to the same thing until we have shot ‘the last man;’ it may be doubted how far it is the part of humanity to prolong these conflicts and thus continue these sufferings. Before, however, we acquiesce in so gloomy a doctrine, it behoves us to investigate most narrowly the foundation upon which it rests.

It is upon this assumed *necessary* result of colonization that the objections of Mr. Coates to the object of the New Zealand Association proceed. If he be wrong in this opinion, his whole case fails. He has said nothing against the plan of the Association or the principles upon which the colony is to be founded: which in truth he does not appear to have taken the trouble to understand. It is the mere purpose of establishing a colony against which he protests, and this upon the sole ground that a colony must inevitably involve the destruction of the natives. There are other considerations applicable to this particular case to which we shall have to advert, but we wish primarily to examine briefly and generally the causes of the undoubted effects of former colonies upon the native races, in order to ascertain whether or not the same consequences must of necessity result from all.

It is necessary, for a reason which will subsequently appear, to separate what may be termed the direct from the indirect evils inflicted by colonization. In the former we include the wars between the settlers and the natives, the destruction of the latter in consequence of the deprivation of the land from which they derived their subsistence, or the destruction of the game they had been accustomed to pursue, their being reduced to a state of slavery, the seizure of their cattle, and their slaughter when attempting retaliation or reprisal; and in the latter the desolating effects of the wars that Europeans have fomented among the nations, and of the vices they have introduced. It is with the former that we have to do at present.

The extermination of those races by whom were peopled the fertile and blooming islands discovered by Columbus, was accomplished by the united influence of war and slavery. Those whom the sword had spared were reduced to a state of servitude, and employed in unhealthy and excessive labour. The insane and unreasoning appetite for gold, by which the Spaniards were possessed, resulting partly from the crude and indigested views of political economy then prevalent, and partly from an impatience of all but the most rapid means of acquiring wealth, urged on the new possessors of the soil to require from the indolent and effeminate natives, labours to which they were unequal, and under which they rapidly sunk. In the strength of despair, the Carib Indians rose against their oppressors; but the contest was too unequal to endure long, and in the course of a very brief period nothing was left them but the alternative of perishing by the sword, by famine, or by excessive toil. Under the mingled operation of these methods of destruction, the extermination of their race was effected, and within less than a century from the day when they had welcomed the Spaniards as beings of a higher order, destined to introduce among them the elements of knowledge and of power far superior to aught with which they had

been previously acquainted, scarcely a single individual survived to deplore the ruin in which his race had been involved.

In Mexico and in Peru the case was different. There, although the proceedings of the Spaniards were characterized by similar atrocities, large bodies of the Indians survived, and their descendants exist in numbers perhaps not greatly diminished at the present day. It would lead us too far from our present topic to enter minutely into the circumstances to which the different fate of the Indians of the Main is to be attributed. It is enough to have here drawn attention to the fact, that, in the midst of these colonies the Indians exist, and that the Spanish rule has had little influence in lessening their numbers, since it was originally established. The first operations of the Castilian invaders were sanguinary and destructive. Their abiding sway has been comparatively innocuous.

In the English colonies in North America the order of events was again different. There the first operations were for the most part peaceful and just. The settlements were effected with the sanction of the Indians, and guaranteed in most instances by treaties entered into with their chiefs. But as the numbers of the settlers increased, the population of the native races has diminished, until in less than two centuries the destruction of all the natives eastward of the Alleghanies has been as complete as that of the tribes by whom the Antilles were peopled. Nor has the work of extermination terminated here. It is still going on, and there appears no reason to doubt but that in the course of comparatively very few years there will not be a single nation eastward of the Mississippi. This has been accomplished partly by war, but principally by the combined operation of the vices which a connexion with Europeans has engendered, and the deprivation, under various pretences, of the land which the Indians had been accustomed to cultivate, or which formed their hunting grounds. There have been comparatively few gross apparent acts of injustice. Such doubtless have occurred, as in the case of the Creek Indians and the State of Georgia, and individual instances must be frequent. For the most part, however, there has been, we are disposed to imagine, a sincere desire on the part of the American rulers to preserve a race distinguished amid all their crimes by much that is dignified and noble, and displaying elevated sentiments, and a strong natural sense of justice. But circumstances have been too powerful for the unskilled efforts of the Government. Ignorant of the true causes to which the destruction of the savages was attributable, they have been incapable of applying the proper remedy, and the wasting away of the Indians has proceeded silently but ceaselessly.

Far different again has been the treatment of the Hottentots and Caffres of South Africa. In this instance it is impossible to

speaking in language too indignant of the treatment to which these unhappy races have been subject. They have been exposed to every variety of oppression and injustice. When the Dutch first formed a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, the natives had already advanced to the pastoral state of society. They were rich in flocks and herds, and they cultivated in common small portions of land in the immediate vicinity of their kraals. Their wealth formed a temptation to the Dutch, and they were robbed first of their cattle and then of their lands, and were subsequently reduced to slavery, for the purpose of tending as the property of another the herds that had originally belonged to themselves. We have said that they were reduced to slavery, but in fact theirs was a condition worse than slavery itself. Had they been the property of the Boors their owners would have had an interest in their preservation, and would have been compelled to provide for their subsistence; but they were nominally free, and consequently their masters were destitute of even that selfish motive for kindly treatment which the slave owner possesses. In the words of one of the witnesses before the Aborigines Committee, 'Any traveller who visited the interior of the colony little more than twenty years ago, may now stand on the heights of Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles on the North side of Graaf Reinet, and ask the question, Where are the Aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here on my former visit to this country? without any one being able to inform him where he is to look for them.' The population of the Hottentots, at the time of the discovery of the Cape, is estimated by competent authorities to have been not less than 200,000. Its present amount is less than 32,000. And this destruction of the original inhabitants has been compensated by no corresponding increase of the European race. In America the place of the Indian is supplied by active and intelligent millions. In the colony of the Cape the Europeans are perhaps hardly one-fifth as numerous as the race they have supplanted, and whatever may be said of the savage and degraded position of the Hottentot, there is little doubt that the boor is at least his equal in these respects.

But in addition to the direct results of colonies upon the condition of the nations, there have been others, indirect, but scarcely less appalling. In North America it has been owing, perhaps, almost as much to these latter, as to the former causes, that the destruction of the Indians is to be attributed. The vices and diseases of civilized life have been introduced among them; reckless adventurers have settled in their territories, and have partially adopted their manners, giving to their warfare a more destructive, if not a more ferocious, character, and inciting wars which might never otherwise have been undertaken. The

trade too, in furs, and in hides has led to the destruction of the wild cattle upon which they had subsisted and thus their means of support have been narrowed, while the spirits for which these have been bartered have encouraged deadly habits of intemperance. In this manner, long before the American nation advances upon the Indian tribes, they are subject to a destructive process, which the government could perhaps scarcely check. In precisely the same manner, the Islanders of the South Sea, among whom we have founded no colonies, are subject to all the vices which a corrupting civilization can breed; and are the victims of those outrages, which the absence of all law encourages among the violent and licentious classes, by whom almost alone these islands are visited. The statements of the missionaries abound in facts, which strikingly illustrate this consequence of our commerce and of our settlements in New Holland; and show the deep responsibility which attaches to this empire, for permitting the existence of such atrocities without an attempt, worthy of the name, to restrain or punish their authors.

And this brings us to the subject from which we started—the plan of colonizing New Zealand, and Mr. Dandeson Coates's objections to any colonization whatever.

The evils which are to be feared, for the natives of New Zealand, from the establishment of the projected colony, are divisible into two heads. 1st. Those which result from the deprivation of the land, from which the New Zealanders have gained their subsistence; and 2ndly. Those which may be produced by quarrels between the natives and the settlers, and the wars which such quarrels may involve. We will say a few words on each.

It is a part of the plan, upon which the proposed colony is to be founded, that, in the first place, all land shall be purchased of the natives; and, in the second place, that no land shall be purchased by private individuals, nor by the authorities, except under certain general rules, framed expressly for the protection of the interests of the natives against their own improvidence. By this provision one of the chief sources of injury to the aborigines of colonies will be destroyed. It will not be the case here as it was at the Cape, where a settler could obtain a grant of land, of some three or four miles square, without the slightest reference to the title of the native inhabitants; nor will it be as is now the case in America, where hundreds of thousands of square miles are purchased for a consideration inadequate at the best, and of a temporary nature. The purchase will be made upon equitable terms. It is true the purchase-money will not be equivalent to its value to an European, but it will be higher than its value to a New Zealander. No instances will be permitted to occur, after the establishment of the colony, similar to those

which have already taken place, although no colony is professedly established, where an estate of fifteen miles square has been obtained for a mere trifle. The natives will be treated upon equitable principles; and, as publicity will be given to the terms upon which all purchases are made, any departure from the rules laid down will be at once detected and exposed. Here is, therefore, the best security for the due observance of the regulations by which the society is to be guided in all its dealings under this head.

With regard to the quarrels which it is alleged, in despite of the best intention, may spring up between the settlers and the natives, it must be conceded that there is a possibility of their occurrence. But, assuredly, it must be equally conceded, that there is no inevitable necessity that this should be the case. It has seldom, perhaps never, been found that the savage is the aggressor in these conflicts. Some wanton and unredressed wrong, on the part of the colonists, has uniformly been the cause. The savage has been denied the rights of citizenship. He has virtually been put out of the pale of the laws. The injuries he may have committed have been cruelly avenged. Those he has endured have been unredressed. What wonder then that he should be driven to rely upon himself for that justice which society has denied him, and should involve in one common fate those who have inflicted wrong, and those who have refused redress. This is the only means of protection which he possesses; and it is but natural that he should avail himself of the protection it may afford. Let, however, the principle of equality be established,—let the law throw the shield of its protection alike over the native and the settler,—allow the former all the immunities which the latter enjoys, and the principal, if not the only, source of strife is at once destroyed. This is a fundamental rule of the proposed colony, and provisions are made to secure its punctual observance. There will be a protector of the natives—a public prosecutor, appointed as their counsel in all cases of wrong. The judges will be required to study their language. They are thus secure, as far as legal provisions can afford a security, against the wrongs which the natives of other countries, colonized by Europeans, have endured; and the probability of quarrel is consequently reduced to the very lowest amount. That there is still a possibility we are aware. In all human undertakings there are possibilities of failure, against which no conceivable precautions can adequately provide; but the man who refrains from embarking in any enterprise because of these possible contingences, is in reality less prudent than he who despises them. We must be content to act upon probabilities. The Almighty has not resigned the government of the world, so that we can be the arbiters, in every respect, of our own or others' destiny. But

he has established certain rules, by a careful observance of which we may, in the average of cases, confidently anticipate success; and, having guided ourselves by them, may leave the issue of our undertaking in his hands. We are not to hide our talent in the earth, whatever that talent may be, lest perchance in trading we should lose it. It is ours to pursue what we conceive to be right ends by appropriate methods, and with proper motives. The result of our endeavours is in the hands of a higher power.

But it may be said, why colonize New Zealand? Have we not Australia, and North and South America, and South Africa, whereon to establish our surplus population—if surplus there be? Why should we pass over these to select this country, where the Church Missionary Society already, in twenty-three years, has taught some fifteen hundred individuals to read and write, and has one hundred and fifty communicants? We reply,—if any credit is to be attached to the representations of those who have spoken on the subject of New Zealand, even of Mr. Coates himself, who so strenuously objects to the colony, ‘for the sake of the New Zealanders themselves’! It is that they may be saved from the influences to which they are now exposed—that they may be protected against the Englishmen by whom these islands are infested, who commit with impunity the most atrocious crimes; who introduce the most disgusting vices; who encourage warfare; who counteract, alas but too successfully, the labours of the missionaries; and who, in the course of a few years, if permitted to continue their lawless courses, will have spread themselves over the whole country—a moral pestilence, at once debasing and destructive. Great Britain, by planting her convict colonies, has exposed the New Zealanders to this contagion; and is, therefore, bound to secure them against its worst consequences. At the present moment there are in New Zealand two thousand runaway convicts and sailors. These ‘devil’s missionaries,’ as they have been but too appropriately termed, must render vain, or at least oppose the most serious obstacles, to the exertions of the missionaries of the gospel. Already, under their influence, the work of depopulation has commenced; and, unless something is done at once and effectually to check them, the natives must share the fate of other uncivilized tribes. To keep the New Zealanders from contact with Europeans is impossible. We may save them for a time from the direct evils of civilization; but from the *indirect*, nothing *but* the establishment of a colony, upon enlightened and Christian principles, can save them. This has been, if not directly, yet by implication, conceded by Mr. Coates; since, as is admirably shown by Mr. Wakefield in his reply, the very measures that he proposes, in order to guard the New Zealanders from these disorderly struggles, involve as a necessary consequence the foun-

dation of a colony, though without any of the safeguards with which the proposed plan of colonization is accompanied. It is not a question, whether or not these islands shall be colonized by Europeans. The question in fact is, whether they shall be colonized by the worst and most degraded of our countrymen—the very outcasts of civilization, or by an organized society, bound to regard the rights and protect the interests of the native race. Can we hesitate, when such is the nature of the question, as to what shall be the character of our decision?

We must advert briefly to some of the special provisions which the New Zealand Association propose to adopt, in order to preserve and to civilize the natives; and upon which is chiefly founded their confidence, that they shall be the benefactors, not the exterminators, of the people among whom their colony is established. We have already stated, that the New Zealanders will be placed upon a footing of equality with the European settlers. They will be entitled equally to the protection of the law for their persons and property; will be permitted to acquire and inherit land, and to buy and sell on equal terms; and they will be possessed, as soon as they become residents in the colony, of equal political rights. To this may be added, that every facility and encouragement will be given to missionary effort, and that peculiar attention will be paid to the education of their children. This might seem all that justice could require—all even that Christian charity could inculcate. But the founders of the colony are not ignorant that apparent justice may oftentimes be actual oppression; and that equal laws may operate with frightful inequality upon those subjected to their control. To expose the unskilled and desultory labour of the New Zealander to the unchecked competition of the skilful and methodical artizan, or agriculturist, would be at once to place the former in a position of hopeless inferiority, resulting inevitably in his degradation and ultimate destruction. In the same manner, to subject the lawless native to the unrelaxing restraints, and severe punishments, of our criminal code, would be at once unjust and practically injurious. It would be unjust, because it would punish as crimes what are the permitted practices of the natives, and what, consequently, they had never been taught to regard as criminal; and it would be injurious because, instead of inspiring respect for the authority of the law, it would generate distrust and dislike, and would deter by an appearance of harsh and excessive severity, instead of inviting by the sense of security and advantage. Punishments opposed to the moral feeling of a people inevitably produce far more evil than good; and, if this is the case in societies accustomed to venerate the authority of the law, it will be so in a far higher degree in a society where such authority has been previously unknown, and where it must

be, to a considerable extent, optional with the individual whether or not he will bring himself within the pale of the law. Exceptional laws are therefore rendered absolutely necessary, and there is no part of the plan of the society which will require more forethought in its framing, or more care in being carried out. It is a striking instance of the little trouble which the opponents of the colony have taken to understand its principles, that Mr. Coates has not said one word as to this part of the plan.

It is obvious that much must be left to the discretion of those to whom the execution of the plan is entrusted. All that can be done is, to lay down certain general rules, defining clearly the nature of the object to be obtained, and pointing out the manner in which these objects may most advantageously be pursued, leaving the details to be filled up and modified as circumstances may render expedient. To provide for all the varying aspects under which the subject may be presented would be clearly impossible. But enough may be done to render comparatively easy the task of those who have to apply these general rules to the actual position of the colony. We will mention two or three of the regulations, proposed as fundamental parts of the plan, to be adopted in reference to the natives.

The first object is to preserve to the nation an equal social position. As we have already pointed out, to expose them to competition as labourers for hire, would be to place them at once in a position of unequivocal and painful inferiority. They are unaccustomed to methodical and regular employment—they have not the habits of patient and persevering industry, which are especially characteristic of English laborers,—they are in addition wanting in the requisite skill. The wish of the Association is that the intercourse between the settler and the natives may inspire the latter with a taste for European comforts, and may introduce among them European habits. But if this is the result of the establishment of the colony, the native labourer will find himself in a position which forbids him to gratify these newly implanted tastes, without being, every moment, reminded of his inferiority. His wages will be lower, even, supposing him to labour constantly, because, his skill is less than that of an Englishman; and he will not labour constantly. He will not be brought at once to renounce his desultory and independent habits. He will work willingly for a day, or a week, or a month, but he will then require relaxation and freedom. He must be free to wander where he will; to resume for a time his old pursuits; to hunt or to fish; to roam through the forest, or to lie indolently on the ground in the enjoyment of that absolute repose from all exertion, which is one of the chief charms of a savage life. And this will be the case even after he has acquired, to some degree, a taste for the comforts of civilized society. To compel unremitting labour,

would be to defeat the objects of the Association, by repelling the natives; to throw these latter upon their own resources by giving them no other means of acquiring subsistence than their labour in the service of the settlers, would be to make them in their own eyes and in the eye of the colonists, an inferior race. This would be especially the case with regard to the chiefs; it would apply, also, in a less degree, to the cookies or slaves.

In order to prevent, as far as possible, this result, it is necessary, that the New Zealanders should be furnished with some independent means of subsistence. This will be done, in all probability, by the allotment of a certain proportion of the land purchased. The land thus set apart would be inalienable, at least, for a term of years. It would be proportioned to the numbers of the tribe from whom the purchase was made. The precise manner in which it would be settled is, necessarily, at present, uncertain; but, it is probable, that the chief of the tribe would have a sort of feudal superiority over the whole, and that it would be parcelled out among the inferior chiefs and the other members of the tribe, in certain definite proportions, subject either to a fixed rent, or to the payment of a certain portion of the produce for the use of the chief. It would, in fact, be held under a sort of copyhold tenure. The interests of the holders would be inalienable; but they would be allowed to lease it for a certain term, and under certain fixed conditions. If they choose to cultivate it themselves, they would, of course, do so, paying the required rent to the chief. If, on the other hand, they preferred to leave it uncultivated, in order that they might work for hire, this course would be equally open to them; but, in such cases, they would still be liable to the rent. In this manner, all the existing relations of New Zealand Society might be preserved freed from their defective points, and might even be made the means of a natural and easy transition from savage to civilized life. The possession of land would confer independence upon the natives, and generate a feeling of equality between them and the European settlers; and, at the same time, the established associations which a long course of years has inwoven in the framework of their ideas would be preserved. Nothing would be done to violate or shock their recognised customs; but these would be skilfully employed to give stability to the improved institutions which it is the desire and the object of the founders of the proposed colony to introduce.

We do think then that those who have originated the plan, and carried it out to its present state of maturity, have a right to claim the credit, not merely of benevolent intentions, but of a wise forethought; and that, although they are unable to foresee or predict with certainty the actual result of their labours, they may enter with confidence upon their work. That there are

dangers to be surmounted, we are aware. There is what may be almost termed an occult influence of civilization upon savages. The change of usages demanded of them is fraught with peculiar risks against which no kindness can provide. To abandon their wild and irregular habits, and to conform to the regulated observances of a settled society, is of itself a hazardous experiment. And with a full knowledge of this fact, and of the influence of contact with Europeans, the early emigrants know that there is a possibility of the entire failure of their plans as far as these are connected with the preservation and improvement of the natives. But they are entitled to ask, are there no evils connected with the present condition of the race? Are not the desolating wars now waged between them under the influence of which vast tracts of country have been well nigh depopulated, real and tangible sources of misery which far outweigh the problematical injuries to be inflicted by English colonization? Leaving out of the question, the convicts and sailors by whom the country is infested, and looking only to the relations between the New Zealanders themselves; they may ask if nothing is to be hazarded in order to put an end to the destructive and ferocious warfare now almost ceaselessly waged, and to which European arms and some smattering of European skill have given so much more deadly a character? The preservation of the New Zealand race is a worthy object; but the substitution of Christian feeling and the arts and manners of civilized life for the degrading superstitions and atrocious practices by which the character of that race is now disfigured, is an object far more worthy. Such an alteration cannot be effected without some sacrifice and considerable risk; but never was there a great object which did not make, at least, equal demands upon those engaged in prosecuting it, and involve at least equal hazards. It is the condition of our present state that good can only be reached through suffering; and that, oftentimes, the highest good demands the greatest and, apparently, the least effectual sacrifices. Knowing this, however, we cannot bid any one refrain from attempts at improvement. We have not so read the command, not to do evil that good may come, that we can counsel abstinence from good lest evil should be produced.

We have left ourselves no space to advert to the character of the country within which the proposed settlement is to be found; or of the principles on which it is to be regulated, in order to secure to the settlers a high degree of immediate prosperity. Those who may desire information upon this subject, will find it amply furnished in the first work at the head of this article. Thus much, however, we may mention. The situation of New Zealand is admirably adapted for commerce; it abounds with secure and spacious harbours; its soil is generally fertile, and the concurring

testimony of all who have visited it, establishes the fact, that the natives are anxious to have an English settlement upon their shores, in order that they may have the protection of English law, and the advantages of English commerce. The principles of colonization are similar to those upon which the colony of South Australia has been established, and which we detailed in a former number of this journal. The success which has hitherto attended their practical working, augurs most favourably for their future results; and, they of themselves, furnish almost a guarantee for the prosperity of any settlement founded in conformity with them. But for these matters, we must refer to the work mentioned above. Our object has been to examine into the influence which a colony was calculated to exert upon the natives; because, if it had appeared, that they were likely to be the sufferers by its formation, we should have felt it our duty to oppose to the utmost the intended settlement. We anticipate no such results, but on the contrary, that if anything can save and elevate the New Zealand race, it will be the introduction among them of Christianity and civilization, under the auspices and with the guarantees of the proposed colony.

ART. III.—*An Essay on Accent and Quantity ; with their Application to the English, Latin, and Greek Languages.* By JOHN FOSTER, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Second edition, 1763.

AS in the infancy of poetry, *music* is that which imparts to it half of itself, moulds its character, and tunes the national ear; so when its first stage is passed, *metre* succeeds, and is so influential on poetry and on pronunciation as to deserve peculiar attention in the philosophical history of languages. It is not any large proportion of our pages that can ever be occupied with such subjects; yet, we think, they may be made neither uninteresting nor uninformative.

In learning a foreign tongue, we are all aware of the importance of knowing on what syllable of a word the accent falls. For the help of beginners, accents are often written in the text of Italian; and from a Greek text, we may almost say, they are never omitted. How perplexing then is it to the Greek student to find that he is not allowed to *pronounce* the accent which he is constrained to *write*! We are informed that the ancient grammarians, from the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium downward, adopted this method of writing the accent, in order to help

foreigners to pronounce the language; yet to us it is an entire *ignis fatuus*, positively leading us astray.

The last English book written professedly to clear up this difficulty, as far as we are aware, or at least the book which has attained most celebrity, is Mr. Foster's Essay: its date, it will be observed, is 1763. This book is regarded as a *standard* one at Oxford; and it is, undoubtedly, entertaining, learned, and instructive. But the practical conclusion to which it has brought English Hellenists, is nearly the following: 'That the Greek accents certainly did mean something; that they indicate a pronunciation nearly as old as Plato; that the marks are by all means to be retained in our printed books; yet we are not likely to be able to pronounce them, and there is no great use in trying.' One grand mistake of Mr. Foster rose out of ignorance of fact; *viz.* that the modern Greeks pronounce accents almost exactly as the English pronounce theirs, and neglect the quantity of syllables altogether. He labours much to vindicate the learned Greeks of late centuries from the charge of barbarity, ignorance, &c., to prove that theirs is the true pronunciation, and that it is full 2000 years old; while he unhappily mistook *what is* their pronunciation, never having heard it, we presume.

Most persons of information are now aware, that a modern Greek sounds *ἄνθρωπος* as though it were written *ἄνθοπος*, *πολλάκις* as *πολλάκις*, and so on; the *longs* and *shorts* being nothing, the accent every thing. If now Mr. Foster have truly proved what he has argued with great strength, we must believe that Aristophanes of Byzantium, and, perhaps, Aristotle and Plato, used a pronunciation subversive of received *quantities*: a conclusion to which Mr. F. professes himself utterly irreconcilable.

Another mistake on Mr. F's. part, which greatly injures his book, is yet very pardonable, because it is so very common. We have never seen an English grammar in which the truth about it is laid down: but we must appeal to our readers' own ears in the matter. He alleges then (or rather, *concedes to his opponents*), that in the *English* language, accent and quantity are inseparable: that is, long syllables are accented, and accented syllables are long. This is wholly a mistake. Many long syllables are unaccented, and many short syllables are accented; and this even in the same word. Thus the word *meásur'd* has the first syllable shorter than the second, yet the accent is on the first. The same happens very often, as in *báalance*, *hónors*, *sháadows*, *fínisht*, &c. Sometimes two syllables are both long, and the accent may be on either, according to the sense or usage: as, *cóntest*, *contést*; *ínsult*, *insúlt*; *wéstern*, *óutline*, *dównfall*, *expláin*. But very often, accent and quantity do go together, as in *plénty*,

mighty, beauty, prétend, benéath. It does not seem to be the English idiom however, to allow a final accented syllable to remain short; but the voice manages to dwell on and lengthen it; as, *upsét* (*upsett*), *untíl* (*untill*), *begín* (*beginn*), except when a word is united to it, as *begín-it*, in which case the accented syllable sometimes remains short. But English is not acquainted with a final short accented vowel, as in the Greek *εἰπέ*, which, however our organs easily pronounce.

A little attention only on the part of our readers will, we think, now show, that the following English words might be written in Greek characters, with the accent, most clearly:

pénitent,	πένιτεντ	demócracy,	διμόκρασι
duplicate,	δούπλικαιτ	sórrowful,	σόρωφυλ
bréthren,	βρέθρεν	overloók,	ωβερλόκ
óutlining,	αύτλοινιγγ	imbécile,	ιμέσιλ
compléte,	κομπλίτ	mechánie,	μικάνιξ
índustry,	ίνδοστρι	pédantry,	πέδαντρι
indústrious,	ινδύστριος	cótritely,	κόντριτλι
démocrat,	δέμοκρατ		

Nothing need be desired more marked than the separation of accent and quantity in these and numberless other cases. It will be seen that cases exist in our language even of polysyllable words, having the penultima long, yet the accent on the antepenultima; as is *pédantry, cótritely*. It is with no good reason, therefore, that some have doubted whether the Hellenic could have had such words as, *ἄνθρωπος, ἔπειτα, γάλακτος, κίνδυνος*, with the same arrangement.

It is impossible to doubt that the use now made of accents by the modern Greeks is the use for which they are invented. The rules laid down by earliest grammarians have so extensive an agreement with the accentuation of words by perfectly *illiterate* peasants; many of the rules singularly arbitrary and unaccountable; as to make any other supposition untenable for a moment. Moreover, all foreign words, as those from Turkish or Italian, brought into modern Greek, are declined according to other and simpler laws of accentuation; testifying that the moderns have no disposition to invent any so complicated system as that which has been transmitted to them.

The accentuation of the modern Greeks is not that which Mr. Foster describes it, a mere *elevation* of musical tone; but as in English, it is a *stress* or *emphasis* laid on the syllable, which however, almost necessarily draws after it a small elevation of tone. The emphasis is the most characteristic and necessary thing. Perhaps on the last syllable of a long word, the musical elevation is more considerable than in English speech; as, also, when

it falls on the former of two vowels, on which it is not easy to lay much emphasis. In such cases as, παρακοπή, ολιγωρία, the English ear distinctly appreciates, not only an emphasis on the accented syllables, but a lifting of the voice that approaches to singing. But in no case of Greek accentuation is the emphasis wanting. Small words, as τὸν, τὴν, &c., when through union with others they lose emphasis, lose the elevation of tone also.

We think it is not now difficult to see what are the chief prosodial changes of pronunciation, which in the last 2000 years the Greek language has really undergone. Just as we hear Irishmen say *grándfáther* or *grándfêther*, so have the Greeks gradually accustomed themselves to shorten many of their vowels when unaccented, as in ἄνθρωπος. In fact the difference of long and short vowels has in most cases disappeared, and an intermediate sound been adopted. For instance, the ο and ω are both merged in the close ο of the Italians and French; except in such cases as τὸν Θεὸν τῶν θεῶν, (*ton Theon tôn theôn*, the God of gods,) where they distinguish them for the sake of contrast. Hence, in modern words, the spelling is often uncertain, as, ἀκόμη or ἀκόμι, *yet*; αἱ κοκῶνες or αἱ κοκόναις, *the ladies*. The diphthongs οι, ει, υι with the vowels η, υ, are merged in the sound ι, for which reason, the modern pronunciation is called *iotacism*; αι, also, and ε are confounded. Some of these changes were, doubtless, very early, probably before the days of Augustus Cæsar: but in Roman times υ or γ had its peculiar sound, different from the Latin u or i, being probably a French u.

Another change consists in dropping the sound of the circumflex, or, rather, in confounding it with the simple accent. What this circumflex was, is not very clear to us. The grammarians say, that it consisted in a rising and falling of the voice; and, we should unhesitatingly say, that *that they ought to know*, but for the strange errors alleged as facts by English grammarians, one after another, concerning our own language and pronunciation. There are reasons that make us suspect that ὦς and ὤς differed in the *quality* of the vowel, just as French o and ô, eu and éu: but whatever was, no difference now exists.

A third important change may be a result of the first; *viz.* that modern Greek poetry is regulated solely by accent (that is, by the written accent), so far as rules can be given for its metre. The following lines are well known as having been given to the English public first by Lord Byron.

‘Επεί μας, ὦ φιλελληνα, πῶς φέρτε τὴν σκλαβίαν.
Και τὴν ἀπαραγόρητον τῶν Τούρκων τυραννίαν;’ &c.

[‘Tell us, O Philhellenist, how bear ye slavery,
And the inconsolable tyranny of the Turks?’]

The metre of which his lordship compares with

‘A captain bold of Halifax, who liv’d in country quarters’—

Mr. Foster has fallen into a singular error about such metres.—p. 201. ‘After the ninth century, the use of these marks is *supposed* to have been *sometimes* mistaken and perverted. In ‘the rambling poems of John Tzetzes, written in the thirteenth century, they are by *some* persons *supposed* to have regulated his ‘metre,’ &c. He convinces himself that such a thing never happened, except by the mistake of the half-learned, who thought that the accentual mark indicated ‘the stress of a long quantity.’ As if a short musical note could not have a stress, as well as a long one!

It is surprising that so able and well-informed a writer as Sir Daniel Sandford, in his translation of Thiersch’s Greek Grammar, should allege that accent is inconsistent with quantity, and should *deprecate* pronouncing Greek with accent at all. Now, if so, we say, do not teaze your pupils with writing the accents. It is really too bad to write them and not sound them. But the difficulty urged is this; that to our ears accent has so vast a predominance over quantity, that the accent utterly destroys all harmony in the ancient Greek poetry. We propose to examine this objection thoroughly, and to enter into some comparison of English and Greek metrical principles, for this purpose.

In our own poetry, we recognize three grand classes of metre: (1) that in which the accent properly falls on alternate syllables: (2) that in which every two accents are separated by *two* unaccented syllables: (3) that which is mixed of both kinds with more or less irregularity. The *FIRST* sort is called *iambic* or *trochaic*, according as the accent falls on *even* or on *odd* syllables of a line—but there is no difference of principle between them. An iambic line, as:

‘A fórtress ráis’d by fréedom’s hánds;’

Is changed into a trochaic by dropping the first syllable, thus:

‘Fórtress ráis’d by Fréedom’s hands.’

It can hardly be needed * to state that ‘iamb’ is here used in

* In case any of our readers should be unacquainted with the names of the Greek feet, we think it safer to add the following table.

○ ○	Pyrrhic	○ ○ ○	Tribrach	Here the mark ○ denotes a short, and — a long syllable, and have properly no relation to accent at all.
— ○	Trochee or Choree	— ○ ○	Dactyl	
○ —	Iamb	○ ○ —	Anapæst	
— —	Spondee	— — —	Molossus	
		○ — ○	Amphibrach	
		— ○ —	Cretic	

an *accentual sense*, as likewise ‘trochee;’ the former to mean a dissyllable word accented on the last, the latter the same accented on the first syllable. Thus *frighten* is a trochee, *pretend* an iamb, both as to accent and quantity: *shadows* is an accentual trochee, but an iamb as regards quantity; and so on.

The **SECOND** kind is called dactylic or anapæstic, again only with reference to the mode of commencing the line. Thus:

‘Néver again in the green sunny bów’rs,
Where my fórefathers lív’d, shall I spénd the sweet hóurs.’

Here the former verse is called dactylic, because the accent is on the first syllable; the third is anapæstic, because two syllables precede the first accent. But the distinction of names is useless. As well might we call a verse ‘amphibrachian’ which has one syllable before the first accent. As:

‘Say, rúsh’d the bold eágle exúltingly fórth’

The **THIRD** kind is a genuine English metre, but in the last century had been fairly banished by the artificial school of Pope, until brought back by our most modern poets, beginning with Coleridge. The old English ballad freely admitted it, as have the most successful imitators of the ancient style.

Southey writes in one of his ballads:

‘Her feet were bare, and on her breast
‘Thro’ rags díd thě winter blow;
‘She sat with hěer face toward the wind,
‘And thě grave was cověr’d with snow.’

Here by the marks ‘’ we have denoted the two contiguous unaccented syllables which diversify the metre.

But, except in imitation of the ancient ballads, this irregular style is now reserved by poets of greatest taste for wild passages, which, in some sense, we may call dithyrambic. It, perhaps, is not a mere fancy, therefore, to compare the three kinds of metre with the three principal kinds admitted in Greek—*viz.* dramatic, epic, and dithyrambic. Our terms are too narrow. We wish the first, to include all that is iambic and trochaic; the second, all that is dactylic; the third, all that is irregular, and, perhaps, intended to be sung to music.

We request our readers, once more, to reflect on the striking separation of accent and quantity in English poetry. For instance, in Campbell’s line:

‘Say, rúsh’d the bold eágle exúltingly fórth’—

The syllables *say*, *bold*, are necessarily long, although not accented. Foster well calls our attention to the fact, that 'long,' and 'short,' are words of no very distinct meaning. If (to use a musical explanation), a crotchet represents a long syllable, and a quaver a short one, then minims and semibreves are *much more long*, while semiquavers and demisemiquavers are *much more short*. The English tongue does not dwell on two contiguous consonants as the Italians do, who pronounce *tempo spetto** with a peculiar pause on *mp* and *tt*; hence, the first and third syllable in *exultingly* are by us pretty rapidly dispatched, though not quite short. But *bold* has a long vowel and two consonants following it, so as to attain what might be compared to a semibreve length. What the old grammarians call 'long by position,' is the pause of the voice caused by any accumulation of consonants. This is very sensibly felt in English poetry, if there are several; and the most artificial of poets knew its force, in writing:

'When 'Ajāx strives some rōck's vāst weight to thrōw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow.'

Here *xstr*, and *āstw* loading the unaccented syllables, produce the labouring effect which he aimed at.

Thus while accent determines that a line shall be metrical, quantity is that which gives it expression, harmony, variety. Verses in which all the accented syllables are long, and all the unaccented short, if often recurring, would be most offensive, from the tripping or bounding effect produced by the too vehement impulse of the voice: being like the *scanning* of verses practised by children. Not dissimilar is Homer's line (pronounced as we pronounce it),

'Λυτικ' ἐπειτα πέδονδε κυλινδετο λαας ἀναιδης'—

We regard it, therefore, as inaccurate, to speak as though in English poetry accent were every thing and quantity nothing. Each has its own place to serve, and each is greatly dependent on the *sense* and oratorical union of words. Nor is accent, any more than quantity, found in harmonious metre according to any

* Mr. Foster p. 371, encourages the popular error, which supposes that in *shallow*, *shadow*, *potter*, &c., we really pronounce ll, dd, tt, and hereby prolong the preceding vowel. In any such cases, our pronunciation is fitly

depicted *shālō*, *shādō*, *pōta*, or *pōtēr*—the double consonant is only an index that the vowel is to be shortened: but the consonant is not really *sounded* double: nor ever in English, except at the end of a word; as *upset* (*upsètt*).

very fixed rules. For instance, in Milton's first line of 'Paradise Lost—

'Of mán's | fírst díslóbédíence, ánd the frúit—'

It will be seen that the second foot is (both as to accent and quantity), a trochee instead of an iamb; while the fourth accent is almost too weak to be counted. Here is a case in which *time* seems more regarded than accent for completing the verse; as happens in many cases, provided that the *number* of accents remain the same, and several of them be strong enough to maintain a general rhythm through the whole verse. Indeed, any of the first four feet of the English admits of an (accentual) trochee in place of an iamb, so that only the trochees do not occur too often. We extract the following examples from Mr. Foster, who, however, as we think, confuses the whole subject by supposing accent and quantity to be (in English) inseparable.

'*Díe ǒf ă róse in áromátic pain*'—

'*Líves through all lífe, exténds through áll extént*'—

'*Jáel, | whó with inhóspitable guile*'—

'*Bów'd their stiff nécks, | loáden with stórmý blásts*'—

'*Fierce ráin with líghtning míc'd, | wáter with fíre.*'

The second of these lines has every syllable in it long, yet is harmonious by virtue of the accent. Such must have been the old Roman metre, before it had been thoroughly forced into subjection to Greek principles; for assuredly it must have been something else than mere *quantity* which made the following line metrical to Cicero's ear.

'*Rāmī bāccārūm ūbértāte incūrvēscērē.*'

which is meant for a six-foot Iambic! In Italian poetry it is manifest that harmony consists, as in English, partly of accent and partly of time. Thus in the opening lines of Tasso:

*Cánto l'ármí pietóse, e il cápítáno
Che grán sepólcro liberò di Crísto—*

two accentual Trochees begin, in the place of Iambs.

That which the Latins call the *cæsura*, or division of a verse, also influences English metre. In fact, the trochee which we have above noticed, in place of the Iamb, is chiefly allowable *after a pause of the voice*; as always at the beginning of a verse, since the voice has necessarily paused before that. This will be manifest in the instances above. The want of harmony remarked by Mr. Foster in the line,

‘In their triple degrés, régions to which—’

is wrongly explained by him. In fact, it is owing to several causes: 1st. that the Trochee *triple* is NOT preceded by a pause of the voice: 2nd. To the too great frequency of the trochees: 3dly. To the weakness of the first word, which ill bears a stress of the voice. Change the word *in* to *down*, and the verse becomes less inharmonious. As it stands, we may well mistake it for anapaestic: ‘In their triple degrés.’—4thly. To the weakness also of the syllable *tri*, which is short, since the consonants *pl* are so capable of union, that even the Romans counted a vowel short before them. In fact a long syllable prefixed to the line would make a better blank verse of it, as:—

‘All in their triple degrés;—régions to which—’

where *triple* is now two short syllables for one long, with the accent on the former of the two. This is perfectly conformable to all the principles of the Greek iambic verse.

To return to the cæsuræ. It facilitates the dwelling of the voice on a terminating syllable. Mr. Foster produces the line:

‘Eternity!—thou pleasing, dreadful thought—’

the rhythm of which, as usual, he but half explains. The second accent falls on a syllable so insignificant, that the skilful reciter, to mend the matter, will throw a peculiarly strong emphasis on the first accent; which the nature of the word allows. Next, he *pauses after the word*, and thus makes up the *time* which is deficient, before proceeding farther in the verse. The very same cause acts to justify great shortness in the last syllable of a line, if only we can lay a strong stress on the *penultimate* accent. As;

‘In the calm lights of mild philosophy.—
Solutus omni fœnore—’

In rhyme, however, where the final syllable ought to be distinctly heard, such a liberty is less justifiable, and should be more sparingly used. To illustrate the cæsuræ yet further, consider the following line:

‘Eternity is now in view.—’

Here, since the voice cannot pause after the fourth syllable, that syllable is felt to be weak, *especially since a vowel follows*. Better is:

‘Eternity lies now in view—’

because, 1st. The consonant does not melt into the preceding vowel as did the vowel *i*; 2nd. The syllable *lies* being longer than *is*, helps to make up the time demanded between the 2nd and 3rd accents.

We have said enough to show the subordinate, yet essential part which *quantity* holds in English metre. We must now show how by managing the voice, we throw the accent at pleasure* on different words, so as to accommodate ourselves to the demands of the metre. First, when two monosyllables come together, each having (in prose) its own accent, we can make *either* accent predominate, so as to produce either an iamb or a trochee. Thus in prose, we say, *a wild horse*; but in poetry, either *wild horse*, or *wild hórse*. For example:

‘Thet† wild horse swíms the wílder stream.’

But:

‘Drág the wild hórse to gráce the bárbarous shów.’

Again:

‘Rúshes in tórrents to swéll the wild floód.’

But:

‘The wíld flood ráges o’er the plains below.’

Next, in anapæstics, by giving a strong metrical accent on certain syllables, we can throw as it were into the back ground other accented syllables, so as to take no notice of them. Hence the necessity of a more vehement impetus of the voice in anapæstics, which makes it a sort of doggerel if unskilfully managed, and has prejudiced many against a noble metre. Mr. Foster speaks of the following line as *cretics*:

O the sweet country life blest with heáth, peace, and eáse—

but the circumstance that the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th syllables are long, and have a (subordinate) accent, is quite accidental and no-

* Some languages, as French and Turkish, have no decided accent on any one syllable of a word, but a slight uniform stress on each syllable. Nevertheless, in a sentence, *oratorical* accent always exists, falling on special syllables. This must give yet greater latitude to the reciter; and in consequence, the poetry has far less intrinsic harmony. More must depend on recitation or music, and the recognition of the metre is less simply a mental operation.

† Is it a mere fancy that the three long syllables *wild horse swims*, so smooth and uniform, with a subordinate accent even on the middle one, helps us to feel the animal’s buoyancy and energy, as he lifts himself above the waves? But the metre is good, independently of the matter narrated.

thing at all to the *metre*, which recognizes only four accents in the line. We may even find some parallel to the Greek ἄρῆς, ἄρῆς, which excited the envy of Martial, in cases such as :

Wild rúshes the tórrent, the bóat rushes wild—

in which the words *wild* and *rushes* take the accent alternately, and the metre is determined nearly as much by the *time* intervening between the four accents, as by the circumstance that there are four.

Perhaps our reader will now concede, that dactylic or anapaestic verse is more removed from speaking and nearer to song, than is the iambic; while it also admits more liberty of accommodating words to the wants of the metre. The same circumstances are observable in Greek poetry. The epic verse rose out of the earliest Greek minstrelsy, and retained many marks of its musical origin. One might believe that it was once a perpetual *chant* of some one fixed tune; and the voice so moulded the words of the language as to give many of them several pronunciations which the after spelling has depicted.

In the Homeric verse, the quantity is often imperfect, and only made out by managing the voice. Thus—he has ἄπονεεσθαι, ἄθανατος, Ἀπολλωνος, Διὶ μητιῶν, αταλαντον, and numerous others, in part concealed by a fictitious orthography, in part accounted for by arbitrary rules of the grammarians, which do but hide the principle. Such a rule is *their* doctrine of the ‘Cæsura;’ which quite fails of accounting for the phenomena. To explain our meaning, we will take the verse :

ἡμετερω̄ ενι οικῶ, εν Αργεῖ, τηλοθι πατρης—

Here they tell us that it is the cæsura or division which makes the first ω long, in spite* of the vowel that follows. When we object, that it does *not* make the second ω also long; they reply : No, because the *beat* of the metre falls on the first, and not on the second. So that it seems not to be the cæsura, but the beat, that lengthens the ω. Moreover, the beat *without any cæsura* in other cases lengthens a syllable, as in ἄπονεεσθαι. Nay, it will be observed that the voice *cannot* pause after the first ω, but *must* pause after the second, so that the ‘division’ after the first is wholly fictitious. Our wonder now rather is, that the cæsura does *not* lengthen the second ω. For we will quite allow its force in such cases as the following, where there is really a pause :

* It is treated as an axiom, that a vowel or diphthong long of itself should of course be shortened if a vowel follows : but such words as αρχαῖος, ἐπιτεῖος, &c., ought to show that the rule is arbitrary.

αὐτοῦ, | εἰσοκεν ἀστὺ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἔλωμεν—

Et succus pecorī, | et lac subducitur agnis.

But we are now led to inquire, What is the metrical beat so talked of? Is it not as in music, where an *emphasis* is given to the first note of every bar, or half-bar? If so, wherein does this differ from what *we* call accent? Mr. Foster would have no difficulty in replying, that it is the very same, because *he* holds the Greek accent not to imply any stress of the voice, but only musical elevation. *We* cannot thus escape, because we are constrained to believe that the accents as uttered by the modern Greeks rightly express that for which the marks were invented. Yet that the metrical beat could mean anything else, seems impossible. Moreover, the testimony to the existence of such a thing, and to its effect on the metre in lengthening short syllables, is as uniform and positive as could be desired; while the Homeric verses themselves are full of proof of its influence.

The conclusion to which we seem driven, is this: That the epic poetry was not (properly speaking) *read*, but was *sung*, or *chanted*, in such a way that the poetical accent was in numerous cases decidedly different from that of ordinary speech, or of prose reading. In such a conclusion there is nothing which we might not be prepared to believe. This has been the practice of the orientals, perhaps in all ages. At this day the Koran is not read, but *chanted*; and much more of necessity is *metrical* poetry *chanted*. We are informed of the great pains taken, in the old Athenian education, to teach boys a right intonation of Homer's lines; and the description is such, as to produce the belief that it was something more than reading. Even among ourselves when poetry is sung to music, vast liberties are taken in transposing the accents: often indeed with a great want of taste, and great loss to the sentiment, when quavering is thrown away on unimportant syllables.

If this view be admitted, it is easy to account for the change in Greek poetry. The old system was artificial, kept up by music-masters and rhapsodists, and by the study of the Homeric poems. When learning so predominated over genius, that the educated part of the Greeks dreamt of nothing but of imitating, or of commenting on the ancients; the vulgar meanwhile followed nature in the construction of their rude rhymes, called at first *στίχοι πολιτικοί*, *public* or *vulgar couplets*. Nothing can be more contemptibly prosaic than the early efforts of this nature; and naturally, they were recited with the common prose accent. Recent years have cultivated the taste and powers of the Greeks, and there is now no reason, why their poetry, cultivated on its native principles, should not equal that of any in Europe.

We believe then, that the prose accent and poetical accent was quite different, the latter admitting of considerable modification

according to the metre employed; though (as we think) having two chief varieties, corresponding to the epic and dramatic measures, (or to the dactylic and iambic.) We seem brought to the conclusion, which perhaps Sir D. Sandford approves, that the accent (as written in our books) ought to be neglected in reading Greek *poetry*, indeed must be neglected, before we are capable of understanding its rhythm.

Considering the interval of four or five centuries between the Homeric poems and Euripides, besides the difference of dialect, and the difference of accent for which the Æolic dialect was remarkable, (which, like the Latin, never took the accent on the last syllable of a word;) we are disposed to think that the Athenian pronunciation of Homer was, like our reading of Chaucer, a sort of compromise between the old and new system. How far the rhapsodists had retained the old reality, we can only guess. It is possible that they had recourse to the 'beat' only, where the exigency of the metre peculiarly required it, and oftener approximated to their own pronunciation; just as a reader of Milton pronounces a word *medicīnal* which at other times he calls *medicinal*.

As regards the tragic senarian, (or six-foot iambic,—the Athenian blank verse,) it may seem less certain that it was uttered in 'recitative.' Yet if this be admitted concerning the epic poetry, we think it every way probable concerning the dramatic. Granted that here the 'beat' has far less obvious influence on *quantity*, it is yet not unattested, as in the case of a short vowel before ρ. We learn also that the verse had three chief beats, and three subordinate ones; and, accordingly the three chief beats need to be followed by short syllables, to give them full prominence; while after the subordinate beats long syllables are admissible. To us it seems impossible that such beats could have existed, without subverting the common accentuation.

ω τέκνα Κάδμου τοῦ παλαί νιὰ τροφή—
διὸ σδοτοῖς σκηπτροῖσι τιμαλφούμενους—

These two lines we have so marked that the double accent may represent the principal, and the single the secondary beat. Next, we write the same with prose accents:

ω τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ-πάλαι νιὰ τροφή—
διὸ σδοτοῖς σκήπτροισι τιμαλφουμένους—

We are unable to see how the accents could be generally preserved, in conjunction with the beats; and our conviction is that the rhythm depended on the *beats* and on *time*, exactly as in English poetry. Occasionally, the beat and the prose accent would be the same, as in—

ω τέκνα, Κάδμου—

and occasionally, the accent might co-exist, without being influential on the metre for good or for bad, in a sort of secondary way; just as we observed in the English anapæstics above, that a secondary accent was found.

The rules which have been given for the *cæsura* of these lines, we suspect will all become needless, when a proper estimate is made of the poetical accent. To develop this subject would carry us rather too far, but we will enter slightly into it.—Words formed of three long syllables, as ὑψηλῳ, are capable of entering the epic verse with the beat either on the extreme syllables, or on the middle: yet as a fact, in the Homeric poems, the latter appears very rare. We opened the Iliad at random in the third book (v. 358,) and on examining one hundred consecutive lines, we found twenty instances of the former (as θώρηκός, οὐ-μεν-γάρ) and not one to the contrary. On examining the whole first book, we found ninety-seven cases with the beat on the extreme syllables, and only four of an opposite kind. Of these last, three are the word ἀνθρώπων, ending the hexameter, and the other is,

v. 337. διογενὲς Πατρόκλεις, ἔξαγε κούρην.

in which we may read Πατρόκλεις, if it be worth while. This review makes us suspect that in epic poetry the Molossus was *naturally* accented on the extremes; in which way also from the necessity of the case it is accented in dramatic poetry.

Let it now for an instant be conceded that such words as εὐσημούς and ἀπορροιβδεῖ are (in poetry) to be accented on the last syllable and last but two, then such lines as the following from Sophocles, become harmonious, and we have no need of deploring, with some critics, their want of a *Cæsura*—

οὐδ' ὄρνις εὐσημούς ἀπορροιβδεῖ βοας—

Μενελάε, μή-γνωμάς ὑπόστησάς σοφας—

κοῦδ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ διδάχθηνάι θελεις—

Farther. There is nothing in the *quantity* of a tribrach, like *πεδία*, to prevent the beat from falling on any of the three syllables; yet in all Sophocles and Æschylus it is nearly uniformly on the first syllable. The exceptions are as follows:

Sophocles.
 { τὸν πατέρα—
 { καὶ πατέρα—
 { πατέρα γὰρ—
 εἰς ἀβάτον—
 καὶ πεδία—

Æschylus.
 ὦ μελέος—
 ξενία δε—
 Ἑρμὴ χθονίε—
 (inserted from Aristophanes).

against which we have actually counted 250 tribrachs in which the beat falls on the first syllable. The exceptions above may be

perhaps accounted for by the combination of the smaller words (e. g. *καίπεδιά* is pronounced as one word); or in the case of *πατέρα* it may be believed that the prose accent here prevailed. For, while the great majority of Greek tribrachs are (even in prose) accented on the first syllable, *πατέρα* happens to be an exception. It surely cannot be *by accident* that in so many instances this rule of the tribrach should hold.

As for pyrrhics, like *δύο*, *τινά*, we find forty-two cases in *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, where the beat falls on the first syllable, making each equivalent to a single long accented syllable. In no other position are they found at all, except at the end of a line, where both syllables may be considered unaccented.

By similar investigations, we have constructed the following table :

<div style="text-align: center;"> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <i>βλέφαρα</i> <i>δύο</i> <i>ἀρετήν</i> <i>πάραμενῶ</i> <i>ἀδασστούς</i> <i>περίβαινεί</i> <i>ὠρμηθή</i> <i>ἀμφοτέρω</i> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> accent on 1st syllable do. do. (but <i>ἡ ἀρετή</i>) accent on 1st and last do. do. do. accent on 1st and 3rd (But in <i>Euripides</i>, often as <i>ἀμφοτέρω</i>) <i>Generally</i> on the second. </div>
<div style="text-align: center;"> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <i>θασσώ</i> </div>	

We must confess that the first foot of the verse would afford numerous exceptions; but so far from this invalidating the above, it has only helped to convince us that that foot admits an (accentual) trochee. In the *Journal of Education* it was maintained a few years back that a trochee (according to *quantity*) is admissible in the first foot; of which we are not able to assure ourselves, except as to proper names: but we unhesitatingly accent the following line, so as to leave the beat on the first syllable of *ποτέρα*—

πότέρα δομοῖσι πτώμα πρόσκυρὲ νεον;

which is strikingly recommended by the analogy of English poetry.

The above results appear to us to hold in the choral metres, with modifications when they become anapæstic or dactylic; and we think that the chief help needed to elucidate Greek metres generally, is a marking of the beats properly. For example:

- (1) ὦ Σεμέλας τροφοί
 Θηβαί, στεφανούσθε κίσσῳ,
 βρύετε βρύετε χλοήρα
 σμίλακι κάλλικάρπῳ,
 καὶ καταβάκχιούσθε ἔρνος
 ἢ ελατάς κλαδοῖσι.
- (2) ὦ μακαρ, ὅστις εὐδαιμών
 τελετάς θεῶν εἰδώς
 βιοτάν ἀγίστενεί,
 καὶ θιασεύεταί ψυχάν,
 ἐν ορέσσι βάκχευών
 ὁσίοις καθάρμοισιν.
- (3) ὦ Πέλοπος ἄ-προσθέν
 πολύπονος ἱππεία,
 ὡς ἐμόλες αἰανῆς
 τᾷδε γὰ!
 εὔτε γὰρ ὁ πόντισθής
 Μύρτιλος ἐκοίμαθή, κ. τ. λ.

Of the three instances, the first shows the tribrach and pyrrhic, the others the molossus and spondee. As we observed that English verse made either a trochee or iamb (accentually) out of *wild horse*, so we think did the Greeks out of *Θηβαι, κίσσῳ, &c. &c.*, though much oftenest the beat is on the last syllable.

Ever to recover the Athenian pronunciation is hopeless; we can only make a rude approach, at best, and shall always find numerous verses, to us seemingly deficient in harmony, which perhaps were approved of by them. In the songs, we cannot tell to what extent they sacrificed sense to music; nay, sometimes a knowledge of the music played may be essential to understanding the metre. We do not therefore expect that any wit of critics would be able rightly to accent *all* their songs: but we rest in this, that *if they are to be accented at all*, it should be according to the presumed beat of the metre, and not according to the prose accent. But we have before said, that we cannot tell to what extent the prose accent was *intermixed*; and we now add, that in Euripides, the latest of the three tragedians, who most brought down tragedy into familiar talk, we seem to see instances of this.

It will be asked, If this be true, why are the rules of Cæsura needed, in iambs and hexameters? and why do our ears find such harmony in them, according to our pronunciation? and why do we so miss a Cæsura, when it is wanting?

We reply: (1) Porson and others have greatly overrated the supposed fact, that such rules of Cæsura exist in iambic senarians. After all his straining and cutting, and numerous insufficient excuses, plentiful exceptions remain, that show the approved Cæsuras to be no 'rule' at all. We can only say, that either

the structure of the language or the habit of the poets led to such and such divisions of the verse *more commonly* than other divisions. It is *possible* that the chant of the recitative had originally a slight pause at the chief division.

As to the Homeric poems, nearly the same is to be said. But besides, it seems certain that we endeavour to refer their harmony to the same principles as those of Virgil's Hexameter; from which it probably differs much. Farther, if the grammatical doctrine of the Cæsura be really received in fullest rigour, it is equally difficult to account for its importance to the harmony, *whatever be our idea of pronunciation*. For instance, *how* in Virgil's line,

Pectóribūs inhians, spirántia cónsulit éxta—

the alleged Cæsura after Pectóribus (where the voice seems unable to pause) should lengthen the last syllable, with the accents placed as we have placed them, (and which we have reason to think the true Latin pronunciation,) is explicable only on one hypothesis; viz. the force of arbitrary custom.

(2) And this explains why we find harmony in the dramatic and epic measures, pronouncing them as we do. Our sense of harmony is absolutely worthless as a proof that our accent is right; for the modern Greeks, reading their ancient poetry with an essentially different accentuation, equally admire its harmony; and the learned among them will with equal fastidiousness discover and reject that which to an Athenian would have been false quantity, though they themselves violate this quantity in the utterance. It is hard for a mere English reader to conceive to what an extent a *mental* apprehension of metre may be carried. It is without affectation that a practised ear (or mind), which approves of beginning a Latin hexameter with the words *Certa mágis*, shrinks from *Certa mājus* as a false quantity, although in our pronunciation the syllables are never distinguished. Again, people suppose that they find harmony in the Sapphics of Horace, which run as:

Jám satis térris nívis atque diræ—

but are annoyed by such as:

Síve quós Eléa domum redúcit—

or:

ποιίχιλόθρον', áθανασ' Ἀφροδίτα—

although it is nearly certain that the last more truly expresses the metre, being indeed the more common by far in Greek, and that

to which it has been observed by critics that Horace seems gradually to have been more prone, as he became more experienced in writing sapphics.

The truth is, that if any number of verses have considerable similarity of structure and division, and if the language have a judicious distribution of vowels and consonants, there is no pronunciation or accentuation whatever which will not by custom at last make the verses seem harmonious. It is a singular phenomenon again illustrating the power of custom, that verses ending as,

. . . . αναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
 Τεττιγὰ ὄροσσεῶν ἐλκετ' ἀπ' ἀκρεμῶνων
 Τεττιγ', ἀπτανοῖς δαῖτα | φέρεις τεχέσιν

are approved of in Greek, but disapproved by our ears in Latin. We ought also to remember that many verses that the ancients approved, are to us inharmonious.

It seems therefore to us, that the question, why dactylic hexameters do not succeed in English, may be answered more satisfactorily than Mr. Foster has answered it. We assign three reasons: 1st. That the ear of the English public does not recognize them, because the rhythm is quite new to it. 2nd. That the composers have not aimed at cultivating them as did the ancients, with a due regard to *quantity* as well as *accent*; but have satisfied themselves with one alone. We appeal to Mr. Southey's hexameters, as the most recent specimen that has drawn general notice: composed also by a poet who has paid extraordinary attention to metres, and whose ear all must allow to be highly tuned. We open his book at random, and extract—

When that Spirit withdréw, the Mónarch around the assémbly
 Look'd, but none élse came fórh; and he héard the vóice of the
 'Angel, &c.

Here we find *Spirit withdréw* used as a choriamb; and so it is, as to accent; but in quantity it stands ~ - - -, or at least ~ ~ - -, if we concede that by quick pronunciation the second syllable may be shortened. Again, *Monarch* is in quantity an iamb, not a trochee. Mr. Southey defends the trochee in place of the spondee, as *drew the, heard the*; nor have we any objection to it, abstractedly; for we believe that custom would make this or any thing else seem good. But he justifies it on a ground, which shows that he (as most persons) is in the dark as to the facts of our language; viz. that 'the whole vocabulary of the language 'does not afford a single instance of a genuine native spondee: ' . . . and only one of foreign derivation, which is the word 'Egypt. *Twilight* and *evening* he alleges to be pure trochees.

It is evident that he means in an accentual sense; but how in this sense he can call *Egypt* a trochee, we do not know. But we take this occasion of remarking, that we must not be misled by the *look* of the letters *ng* to take them for a double consonant. The *ng* is only a nasal *n*, and is in some extra-European tongues expressed by a single consonant. Hence the last syllable of *evening* would be short before a vowel, as:

When évening ārises.

Sidney and the older hexameter writers seem to have made quantity every thing and accent nothing. Mr. Southey quotes and accents two of his verses thus:

Well may a pastor plain; but alas, his plaints be not ésteem'd—
'Opprest with ruinous conceits by the help of an outcry.

But this not fair. Sidney evidently estimated his longs and shorts by the rules of Latin grammar, and neglected *accent* entirely; but Mr. Southey does not aright discriminate between accent and quantity.

But, 3rdly, the language itself is ill suited to the measure, from the fact that *so few of its words terminate in vowels*. It is only with much effort that we can bring together words suitable to the hexameter, and it is an effort which no one who has the heart of a poet will endure to make in original composition. Not having been trained to it from early associations, it is only by artifice that the ear will come to the task. Moreover there is a want of music in combinations such as *and the, of the, for the, from the, and from*, and numerous others which perpetually recur: for while by the insignificance of words and our habit of quick pronunciation we know not how to make any thing of them but two short syllables, the accumulation of consonants forbids their being decidedly short. The same applies to *bý the, through the, &c.* Their first syllable is between short and long; and having no decided quantity, is ill adapted to a metre which gives primary importance to quantity; as the *Latin* hexameter (the intonation of which we generally seek to imitate) certainly did. We are for these reasons fully of opinion, that it is only in translating from Homer or Virgil by *way of specimen* that any wise poet would attempt the metre in English.

In conclusion, we wish to press the propriety of learning and reading prose Greek with the accent as marked in the books. In all other languages we acknowledge the importance of this. Even in Hebrew and Latin, languages quite *dead*, we pronounce according to the rules of accent delivered by the old teachers: (it is to be regretted that the Latin vowels are so wrongly sounded by

us, and the consonants v and j :) but in Greek, which is in some sense a living language,—whose accentuation at least survives, and which differs so little from the spoken tongue, that a Hellenic scholar is in a few days intelligible to educated Greeks, *if only his pronunciation is good*,—we utterly neglect that very accent which it is a mark of finished scholarship *to write* ! Meanwhile our pronunciation is to natives nearly as ridiculous and unintelligible, as is that of an Englishman who should pronounce French as if it were English. The alleged difficulties are a mere fable. In Germany the accentual pronunciation is extensively used. We hope * Sir Daniel Sandford, who has given his authority to our vulgar corruption, will reconsider this matter ; or if he will not let his pupils utter the accents, he will exempt them from the annoyance of learning them.

ART. IV. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle ; with a Sketch of his Life.* By LEITCH RITCHIE.

THIS volume will be read with melancholy interest, as a memorial of departed worth, and consecrated talent. It will awaken an interest in all who are capable of appreciating mental power and moral excellence in rich combination ; and the melancholy inspired will be felt even by the general reader of sensibility, whose heart must sicken at the disappointments and trials of one so good and so gifted ; but more especially, by those who had the happiness of a personal knowledge of Thomas Pringle.

An acute observation of providence assuredly dictated the sentiment, that ‘ God hath set one thing over against another ;’ for in defiance of the romantic calculations of youth, and the delusory and ever deluding anticipations of maturer age, the present life will always be what it has hitherto proved, a mixture of joys and sorrows. If the entire condition of mankind could be fairly and fully estimated, it would, doubtless, be found that, amidst the endless diversities of particular conditions, the extraordinary felicities of some, and the no less remarkable afflictions of others, there is an average and proportionate diffusion of good and evil throughout the mass of civilized society. Not only is there a primary indication of this as a design of the Creator in the instinctive capacities and adaptations of our nature, but in the constitutions of providence also. How frequently do we find mental superiority associated with physical weakness, elevated station with an uneasy

* Since the above was written, we have to lament the loss which Greek literature has sustained by the premature death of this accomplished gentleman.

mind, the splendours of life with the distractions of a family, great opulence with oppressive care and incessant anxiety; or, on the other hand, extreme poverty with health and peace! Prosperity, however distinguished, has its drawbacks and deductions; adversity, however calamitous, its mitigations and its sunshine. These compensations are everywhere visible, notwithstanding the general disorganization which has been produced by the fall of man; but wherever religion prevails we perceive a proportionate tendency to the removal of these evils and to the general increase of human enjoyment; so that we cannot doubt of its prevalence as the means of a universal and perfect happiness.

It is not merely in these respects, or for the elucidation of these views, that such biographies as the brief one before us are useful; but as they tend to show the moral power of virtue and religion. Men of real principle are more than prepared for the reverses they are called to experience; they furnish a valuable example both to their contemporaries and to posterity; they display the controlling, guiding, and leavening influence of sanctified character in moulding their own destiny, or modifying, perhaps, in some sense determining, that of others. Thus they survive their death, and are immortal even on earth in spite of the grave. Their life is a lesson, and their death is a lesson. Their sufferings, often compensated by inward enjoyments, are the means of ameliorating the state of the world, by teaching others how to think and feel and act on this stage of existence, so that the tear that bedews their memory is absorbed in their recollected excellence and still anticipated influence. In the orderings of providence they did not, indeed, live for themselves; but in the wisdom and mercy of its arrangements, we see that mankind have been, is, and ever will be the better, for their having lived. What is the worth of fame without piety—what, the glory of ambition that conquers for itself alone? To have subdued a world is the distinction of Satan; to ‘go about doing good,’ is the recorded glory of the Son of God.

While the literary efforts and poetical productions of Pringle evinced his abilities, his greatest permanent celebrity will rest upon the basis of his labours in the cause of freedom and humanity; the former he nobly maintained abroad, the latter at home. To a few, but ever widening circle of friends, he was known as the author of some poems, the editor of ‘*Friendship’s Offering*,’ and the writer of a very instructive narrative, respecting the state of Southern Africa; but he was, above all, the able and indefatigable Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society. That was, in fact, precisely, the proper place for him, as it afforded peculiar facilities for the development of the power and benevolent bearing of his talents. He did not possess the highest qualities of genius, but he was encircled with a moral glory which beautified

with its radiance his appropriate sphere of intellectual eminence and useful activity. It was his happiness to live to witness the triumph of anti-slavery principles; though, as it now appears, the joy of the nation was somewhat premature when the legislative enactments announced emancipation as the purchase of twenty millions of British gold, paid to the West-India planters; premature, inasmuch as the apprenticeship clause has evaded for a time the high purposes of justice and benevolence. The *spirit* of British legislation must, however, at no distant period, triumph over the blunders or the craft of British legislators; and the Christian feeling of the people of England coerce and conquer the stubbornness of Jamaica inhumanity.

The amiable qualities of Mr. Pringle, no less than his official situation, brought him into friendly association with the most distinguished promoters of the cause of negro emancipation. We cannot resist the temptation of extracting part of a letter to his wife, which contains a graphic description of the domestic manners of Mr. Wilberforce. Of that great and good man every memorial is precious.

‘ *Highwood Hill, January 23d, 1830.*

‘ I arrived here last night about seven, without suffering much annoyance from cold, or finding the roads so bad as I expected. I have enjoyed a good night’s rest, and now sit down, after breakfast, at a comfortable fire in my own room, to write to you before I do anything else, and to give you a few details which I think will interest and entertain you.

‘ Finding on my arrival that there was company with the family, I desired the servant to show me to my bed-room, in order to adjust myself a little before joining them in the dining-room. Mr. Wilberforce immediately came up, welcomed me with great cordiality, and pressed me to go down without dressing, as there was no fine company, but only Mr. Simeon, from Cambridge, Mr. Sargeant, another clergyman, and two ladies, friends of the family. I here dined—and after an hour’s chat I prevailed on Mr. Wilberforce to retire for his usual nap, which he seemed disposed to forego on my account. At tea he again joined us—and then I told him the news of Lord William Bentinck having issued a proclamation at Benares, prohibiting in future the burning of widows, throughout the British dominions in India. The good old man was overjoyed, and eagerly inquired into all the details and as to the certainty of the intelligence; on being assured of which, I observed with interest, that he covered his face with his hands, and appeared silently to offer up thanksgiving to God for this great triumph of Christian philanthropy, of which he had lived to witness the accomplishment. We conversed on this and various kindred topics till nine o’clock, when we adjourned to the hall for family worship. Mr. Wilberforce himself gave out the hymn, and we were accompanied in singing by a small organ. All the servants (seven or eight) were present. The congregation of the household for this service, has a very delightful and patriarchal appearance, especially, when one observes

the holy fervour with which this great and good man leads their devotions. Mr. Simeon read and briefly expounded a chapter of the Bible, and Mr. Wilberforce himself concluded with a prayer—so plain, appropriate, and impressive, that it greatly reminded me of the family prayers of some of my Scotch Seceder relatives when I was a boy.

‘After this the good old man again sat down with us at the fireside, conversed with interest and animation on a variety of subjects, and read a favourite passage or two of poetry which happened to be referred to, and it was past twelve o’clock before I could get away to bed.

‘This morning we assembled to family worship at half-past nine,—afterwards breakfasted—and now I am come up to write my letters.’

—p. xevii.

The ancestors of Mr. Pringle were border farmers. He was born at Blaiklaw, otherwise called Easterstead, on the 5th of January, 1789; when a few months old he met with a serious accident, by which his right limb was dislocated at the hip joint. The nurse concealed the circumstance at the time, though it was soon discovered that something was amiss with the limb. He was carried to Kelso for medical advice, but the nature of the injury was not ascertained for a long period, when it was no longer practicable to reduce the dislocation. Thus he was rendered lame for life. His early piety was remarkable, for it has been stated by his old nurse, ‘that when she has returned to the house after an absence on business, she frequently found the boy ‘on his knees, engaged in fervent prayer.’ In his fourteenth year he was sent to the grammar-school of Kelso, to learn the rudiments of Latin; and three years after he went to Edinburgh, to complete his studies at the university. Here he was not distinguished, but respectable; less attentive to classics than to English poetry and criticism. Hesitating much respecting the choice of a profession, he entered at length as a clerk, into the service of his majesty’s Commissioners on the public records of Scotland, while he looked to literature to eke out his small salary. His friend the Rev. Mr. Story says, ‘that his employment, unless ‘when it occasionally gratified his antiquarian taste, was most ‘repugnant to the natural bias of his mind, and altogether alien ‘from those studies and mental exercises in which he especially ‘delighted. No one will be inclined to question this statement, of ‘which his character and future career furnish ample illustration.

In 1811, he and a friend published a poem called the ‘Institute,’ for which he gained some praise, but no money. In 1816, he was a contributor to ‘Albyn’s Anthology,’ and the author of a piece in the ‘Poetic Mirror,’ which was lauded by Scott, and the means of an introduction to his acquaintance. Early in 1817, he wrote an article in the ‘Edinburgh Monthly Magazine,’ on the Gipsies, from materials furnished by Scott. About the same

time, he became editor of the 'Edinburgh Star,' newspaper, in which he wrote the leading article twice a-week. He also conducted a magazine, which falling into the hands of new proprietors, became 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Another which he had undertaken, became 'Constable's.' By a quarrel with Blackwood a separation soon occurred, and he was rendered an object of dislike and abuse to the party. On 19th July, when his affairs seemed flourishing, he married the daughter of Mr. Brown, an East Lothian farmer, but the magazine fund diminished his resources. Soon after he published his 'Autumnal Excursion,' relinquished the editorship of the 'Star,' and as his biographer states, 'after the period of glorious hopes, of lofty yearnings, and gallant struggles—our history finds him once more, in January, 1819, on his accustomed seat in the Register Office.' His salary, however, being small he applied to government for a grant of land for his father and brother, determining to emigrate with them to Southern Africa. In February, 1820, they set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, when the administration was in the hands of Lord Charles Somerset. After a toilsome march of five days up an African glen, they settled at Glen-Lynden. He, at length, relinquished his temporary possession to his brother, and sought his own support at the Cape. He first became librarian to the government library, and resided at Cape-Town three years. We shall not detail his literary and public efforts, suffice it to say, his zeal for freedom drove him home; for it rendered him obnoxious to arbitrary power, by whose frowns he was ruined. During the whole of 1825, he was in active correspondence with the Commissioners of Inquiry, on the subject of abuses in the local administration, the treatment of the coloured race, and the defence of the frontier. He was the originator of the scheme for the establishment of the Hottentots as independent occupiers of the land, and was one of the most active members of the society for the relief of the distressed settlers in Albany.

Mr. Pringle left the Cape in April, 1826, and arrived in London in July, accompanied by his wife and Miss Brown. He was now £1000 in debt; and his claims for compensation were disallowed. Before quitting Africa, he sent an article to England on the state of Slavery in the Colony, which led, by a train of circumstances, to his acquaintance with Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macaulay, and eventually to his becoming Secretary to the Anti-slavery Society in 1827. In this situation his services were highly appreciated, and his zeal and usefulness were unabated to the last. The conclusion of his labours was a document signed with his name on the 27th of June, 1834, reciting the Act of Abolition, and ascribing the glory of the triumph to God. On the 28th he was seized with the illness (consumption) which terminated his valuable life on the following 5th of December, in his

46th year. In anticipation of the breaking up of the Anti-slavery Society, he had solicited a government appointment at the Cape, but without success. He had determined however upon the voyage, but the providence of God interposed by the rapid decline of his health. His end was peace. His remains were interred in Bunhill Fields.

It is now time to speak of the 'Poetical Works' of which this volume in great part consists. In point of arrangement it would have been better to have placed the juvenile poems first, and the African Sketches last; and in this order we shall notice them. The Ephemerides, or juvenile poems, are divided into three parts, comprising juvenile poems, songs and sonnets, and miscellaneous pieces. All are pleasing, and many beautiful. In point of versification and sentiment, they have fewer faults than most productions of a similar kind; and the fascination of some of them inspired the wish for a prolongation of their music and melody. Over all of these the lamented author has spread his own amiable spirit, while many not only exhibit his correct taste and judgment, but indicate his enthusiastic love of nature and the fine breathing spirit of liberty. Most of these compositions seem to flow from feeling which could not be repressed, and which, by a kind of instinctive and inevitable necessity takes the form of poetry. Either there was no art, or it attained its highest skill in concealment. Pringle could not, we should think, like Gray, polish every line as he proceeded; yet there is equal ease and very similar elegance. We wish our readers to drink at this fountain of the Muses, and shall therefore endeavour to tempt them by a few sweet potions.

THE HIGHLANDS.

AIR—'My heart's in the Highlands.'

'The Highlands! the Highlands!—O gin I were there:
Tho' the mountains an' morlands be rugged an' bare,
Tho' bleak be the clime, an' but scanty the fare,
My heart's in the Highlands—O gin I were there.

The Highlands! the Highlands!—my full bosom swells
When I think o' the streams gushing wild through the dells,
And the hills towering proudly, the lochs gleaming fair!
My heart's in the Highlands—O gin I were there!

The Highlands! the Highlands!—far up the grey glen,
Stands a cozy wee cot, wi' a *but* and a *ben*,
An' a deas at the door, wi' my auld mother there,
Crooning—"Haste ye back, Donald, an' leave us nae mair."

The Highlands! the Highlands! &c.

—p. 174.

Akin in sentiment and feeling is the following sonnet, though in a different style.

LONG YEARS OF SORROW.

Long years of sorrow and slow-wasting care
 Have stol'n from thy soft cheek its vermeil hue ;
 And somewhat changed the glossy locks that threw
 Their shadowy beauty round thy temples fair ;
 And lent to those sweet eyes a sadder air,
 That from their long dark fringes laughing, blue,
 Once looked like violets fresh-bathed in dew,
 And seemed as they might even enchant despair !
 Sickness and grief have touched thee ; yet so mildly,
 That, though some graces of thy youth are gone,
 The loveliness that witch'd my heart so wildly
 In life's romantic spring—is still thine own :
 And those meek pensive eyes, in their revealings,
 Speak now of higher thoughts and deeper feelings.—p. 183.

Many of the little songs and sonnets we should gladly transfer to our pages ; we will quote one which unites much poetry with ardent piety.

A HYMN.

1.

When morn awakes our hearts,
 To pour the matin prayer ;
 When toil-worn day departs,
 And gives a pause to care ;
 When those our souls love best,
 Kneel with us, in thy fear,
 To ask thy peace and rest—
 Oh God our Father, hear !

2.

When worldly snares without,
 And evil thoughts within,
 Stir up some impious doubt,
 Or lure us back to sin ;
 When human strength proves frail,
 And will but half sincere ;
 When faith begins to fail—
 Oh God our Father, hear !

3.

When in our cup of mirth,
 The drop of trembling falls,
 And the frail props of earth,
 Are crumbling round our walls ;

When back we gaze with grief,
And forward glance with fear ;
When faileth man's relief—
Oh God our Father, hear !

4.

When on the verge we stand
Of the eternal clime,
And death with solemn hand
Draws back the veil of time ;
When flesh and spirit wake,
Before Thee to appear—
For the Redeemer's sake,
Oh God our Father, hear !—p. 210.

The 'African Sketches,' consist of various poetic illustrations of the country, suggested to Mr. Pringle while a resident. Some of them are of a very superior character ; and two, the 'Bechuana Boy,' and 'Afar in the Desert,' have the decided marks of genius. The latter in particular is what only a true poet could have imagined and executed. Both however, are too long for insertion, and we must close. Mr. Ritchie is entitled to warm thanks for the good service he has rendered to the memory of his friend. The volume to which he has so generously contributed needs no recommendation ; it will sufficiently recommend itself. In addition to its intrinsic merits, the brief advertisement prefixed will appeal to the best feelings of a large class. We leave it, unimpaired by any comment or appeal of our own. 'This work is not published 'in the usual way, but entirely for the benefit of Mr. Pringle's 'widow.'

Art. V. *A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By MOSES STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 8vo. pp. 256. Andover, U. S., 1834.

The same work, republished in England, with a Preface by the [anonymous] Editor. Duodecimo, pp. 20, and 238. London, 1838.

A Greek Grammar of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 64. London, 1835.

FROM the days of Gataker and Salmasius, and, especially, after the light afforded by Bentley, John Vorstius, and the school of Hemsterhuys, the nature of the New Testament Greek has been laid open to the satisfaction of every candid scholar ; and the fallacies of Pfochenius and Anthony Blackwall have lost the credit which, once and to a very limited extent, they seemed to have.

In the early part of this period, the excellent George Pasor, left, at his death, in manuscript, a *Grammatica Græca Novo Test. Domini N. Jesu Christi illustrando destinata*; and it was given to the world by his son Matthias, in 1655. It is rich in materials, well arranged; and the author recognizes, in the clearest manner, that 'the style of the N. T. is formed upon the genius of the 'Hebrew language.' The testimony of Dr. Winer well deserves to be transcribed. 'George Pasor, Professor of the Greek Language at Francker (ob. 1637,) known by his small Lexicon of 'the New Testament, which has passed through several editions (the last by J. F. Fischer,) left behind him, among his papers, a 'Grammar of the N. T. which was edited by his son, Matthias Pasor, 'Prof. Theol. at Groningen (ob. 1658,) with additions and corrections of his own.—This work is now a *literary rarity*; although 'it is far better adapted to perpetuate the author's fame than his 'Lexicon of the N. T.—The second book [the syntax] is the 'most valuable; and, in the third, that part which respects the 'Dialects of the N. T.—The Syntax is compiled with great accuracy, and is copious even to the exhausting of the subject. 'Parallels out of the Greek national writers are seldom adduced. 'In fact, the Syntax of this excellent writer exceeds any thing of 'the kind that has hitherto been compiled; and leaves Haab's 'inadequate performance (Tübingen, 1815,) very far behind it.' *Gr. Gramm. of the N. T.* pref.

Dr. George Benedict Winer, Prof. Div. successively in the Universities of Erlangen and Leipzig, long made use of Haab's work, but with increasing dissatisfaction. This led him to publish, in 1822, his *Grammar of the Idiom of the N. T.* a work which has met with high and deserved approbation, and which the author has considerably enlarged and improved in subsequent editions. An English translation of it was made, by Professors Stuart and Robinson, and printed at Andover, U. S., in 1825. It is to the reproach of both America and Britain, that a work of so much value and importance has met with comparatively so little attention in either country. It is by no means superseded by the newer works of which we are now treating, for it has features of character which have not been transferred to them. Yet the indefatigable Professor Stuart has resisted the depressing influence of discouragement, and has again favoured the body of thinking and diligent Biblical students with the original work which we now recommend to our readers. He says,

'My purpose has been to bring together all the important forms and principles of Greek Grammar, in as short a compass as possible, and yet to be perspicuous and satisfactory. The labour of doing this, I am quite sure, cannot well be estimated, except by those who have made the like attempts. Whether I have succeeded, must be determined before another tribunal, not my own.

‘The reader may be assured that he will find Greek Grammar exhibited here according to the stand which this science has most recently taken, under the guidance of the great masters named above.’ [Buttmann, Rost, Matthiæ, Hermann, Winer, and Thiersch.] ‘The doctrine of the Greek Tenses, he will find very different, in some respects, from the representation of it in the old Grammars.’

Winer, in his what we must call invaluable volume, did not think it requisite to insert paradigms, or rules of inflexion, which belong to a general Greek Grammar, and may justly be supposed to have been already learnt. He confined himself to a statement of the forms which are peculiar to the Septuagint and the New Testament; and this he comprised in twelve most perspicuous and interesting pages. But Mr. Stuart, consulting the benefit of those who have not enjoyed the privilege of a sufficient classical training, has exhibited the Forms of Declension and Conjugation, with the systematic Rules and Illustrations, at ample length. This, added to the Preliminary matter upon the Peculiarities of the Hellenistic Dialect (for, notwithstanding the objections of Salmasius, it may properly enough be so called,) occupies half the volume. Yet, after all, the arrangement and dependence of words is the great object of attention in a work of this kind. Upon this part, the Professor says:—

‘In regard to the Syntax, I have used him [Winer] much to my purpose; and I here make my most grateful acknowledgments for his laboured, acute, and copious display of the New Testament Syntax. Yet my work differs not a little from his in mode of exhibition. His Syntax is constructed, almost every where, upon the [presumption of] previous knowledge of the student, or upon that of other Grammars: mine aims at being sufficiently complete in itself.

‘Very much of Winer’s excellent Grammar is occupied with *critical* discussions about particular texts. I am thankful for such acute criticisms, let me find them where I may; but still, I cannot help thinking that the more proper place for them is in a *commentarius criticus*.—Our *plans* are very different.—I would hope—that the plan of the present work will be found more acceptable and useful to those who study sacred criticism. The state of science and method of study in Germany, are so different from our own,’ [in New England, but the remark is not quite inapplicable to Great Britain and Ireland,] ‘that a work well adapted for that country may meet with a very slow reception in this, or even fall into desuetude. Every work of such a nature as a Grammar, should be adapted to the times and to the country in which one lives.’—*Pref. passim*.

The English edition is of a smaller and more commodious size, and is beautifully printed. The Editor, to us unknown, prefixes the following observations.

— The Editor feels that it would indeed be superfluous in him to speak, either of the qualifications of the learned author for the production of a work of this class, or of the value and utility of a Grammar designed peculiarly for the elucidation of the New Testament *Idiom*. To those who ask for evidence of the former, it may be sufficient to mention Prof. Stuart's Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews: works which stand alone in the whole range of English critical Commentaries on the Scriptures, and which will ever remain imperishable monuments of his skill as an interpreter, of his eminence as a sacred Philologist, and of his sagacity as a critic. But should any be disposed to doubt the necessity for a Grammar of the New Testament language, the Editor would respectfully recommend to such persons a perusal of the Preface and the Introduction to this volume, which will probably be sufficient to convince them that there is at least *some* reason for a distinct treatment of the peculiarities of the Hebrew-Greek dialect.'

The labours of the Editor have been great, and they entitle him to the gratitude of the student. They have been employed:—*first*, in revision, and the correction of 'some hundreds of 'typographical errors, principally in the Greek, its accentuation,' &c.—*secondly*, in collating the passages quoted, with the late Bishop Lloyd's edition of the Greek Testament, and with the best editions of the Greek Classics;—*thirdly*, 'in two or three 'instances' rectifying undoubted mistranslations. Yet, we should have preferred this to have been done in subjoined Notes, leaving the author's text unaltered.—*Fourthly*, some improvements in the style, 'mostly in substituting purer English phrases or idioms for 'Americanisms.—In fine, the utmost diligence has been bestowed 'upon the labours of the press.'

The last of the three works upon our table is entitled to be mentioned with respect and honour. It bears indubitable evidence of having been issued from the atmosphere of the London University College; and the same kind of internal evidence leads us to believe that the merit of the work belongs to the gentleman who has lately edited the Greek Testament, so judiciously arranged, with such valuable *subsidia*, so beautifully printed, and in so commodious a form, as to be, in our opinion, the best edition ever yet published as an *Enchiridion*, a pocket-manual, for the Christian Student. In his preface to the New Testament Grammar, the Editor, whose sound judgment shines through his amiable modesty, informs us that 'The Syntax has been chiefly 'taken from Winer's excellent Grammar for the New Testament; 'but much additional matter has been inserted from Wahl and 'other authors.'

What gratitude do we owe to the Father of lights and Fountain of goodness, from whom 'all right counsels and good works 'proceed,' that productions of such utility are multiplied in this

our day, for encouraging and aiding the impartial study of the holy scriptures! May God grant his efficacious blessing; that the young men in our schools and colleges, and proportionably in all the walks of commercial and professional life, may avail themselves of these high advantages, far beyond what their fathers enjoyed, in the spirit of true piety and practical religion! Then and then only will they know by the happiest consciousness, that these 'Holy Scriptures are able to make them WISE UNTO SALVATION, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

In our article upon Robinson's New Testament Lexicon, p. 276 of the last No., the following sentence was inadvertently omitted.

There is one circumstance of omission in this work, which we much regret; it is the not having put the mark of long or short quantity over the doubtful vowels, in those syllables whose prosody cannot be determined by the ordinary rules. Such an addition would have cost little trouble, to either the author or the editor; and it would have been an immense advantage to the numerous students of the Greek Scriptures, who have not had the advantage of being trained to the use of the Attic poets, and do not possess *Morell's Thesaurus*.—*Passow's Wörterbuch*, and several Lexicons published within these few years in our own country, have this valuable accompaniment.

Art. VI. *Our Young Men: their Importance and Claims.* A Prize Essay. By F. A. Cox, D.D., L.L.D. London, W. Ball. 1838.

MOST of our readers are probably aware, that in the early part of 1837, the Committee of the British and Foreign Young Men's Society, offered a prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay on 'The claims of young men on society.' The society in question was then but recently formed, and little known. It was designed to advance the intellectual and moral welfare of young men, and, especially, to guard them against the numerous and seductive temptations to which they are exposed in London and other large cities. 'With this view,' it is stated in one of the publications of the Society, 'it offers the usual advantages of literary and scientific institutions; a library, reading-room, and periodicals, occasional lectures and weekly meetings of the mem-

‘bers for conversation, and the reading of original essays. It also publishes its monthly magazine.

‘Their *moral and religious advancement*, however, is its grand design, and, therefore, all meetings of the members are opened and closed with prayer, and no books are admitted into their library except those which are fitted to serve the interests of piety and wisdom.

‘Other societies present the means of intellectual instruction; religious communities, the influence of Christian conversation and example, but few other societies combine all the privileges that result from the union of the two. Literary institutions, it is true, by exciting a thirst for knowledge and teaching the mind to think, prepare the way, in some measure, for the reception of the truth; but that this is too seldom the aim of those who conduct them, it is evident, by observation of their books—the folly and the scepticism that infect them. On the other hand, though the piety which pervades the churches of Christ, by purifying the mind, enlightens and exalts it, little or no provision is made by them to communicate knowledge in general. Witness the obscurity of mental vision that prevails in many congregations and churches. But in this Society religion and knowledge are joint presidents or guardian spirits, breathing their own immortal vigour into the hearts of their followers, and leading them on with untiring energy to the contest of truth with error—to fight the battles of the Lord against the mighty.’

Such an institution, constituted on the basis of religious principles, and making its resources bear with concentrated force on the interests of a specific and most important class, is well entitled to the commendation and support of the Christian public. To what extent that support has been realised, we have not the means of knowing, but if nothing else be effected than the publication of this treatise, a very important service will be rendered to the interests of the rising generation. Several essays were forwarded to the adjudicators, many of them, we are informed, possessing ‘qualities which entitled them, though on different grounds, to very high commendation.’ Dr. Cox’s treatise, however, was pronounced to be ‘decidedly the best,’ and as such, has had awarded to it the prize offered by the Society. We congratulate the Doctor on his success, as we trust it will be the means of bringing him into useful and most gratifying contact, with a large class over whom he might otherwise have had no opportunity of exerting a salutary influence.

The treatise is divided into three parts, which treat of the importance of young men to society; the persons on whom it especially devolves to watch over and promote their interests; and the advantages which would accrue from the cultivation of their minds and hearts. Each of these leading divisions is sub-divided into

several sections, which bring the various and diversified aspects of the subject distinctly out to view. We would willingly indulge in extended extracts, but other claims forbid our doing so, and we must, therefore restrict ourselves to two or three. The following is taken from the section on 'The Influence of Young Men in 'Social Life,' and is executed in a chastened and beautiful style.

'From Sunday scholars and Sunday-school teachers, and Tract distributors, have arisen a generation to maintain the cause of religion in our own country, and convey its benefactions to distant lands. The gospel has been thus preached *to* the poor and *by* the poor, while thousands have been made 'rich in faith.' The observant minister of religion will not fail to notice, that young men trained under these circumstances have usually become his most effective coadjutors, by their zeal and love and devotion. While others of more elevated rank, even though pious, have been restrained by the artificial distinctions of society, these, which constitute in all congregations the great majority, have found it easy to maintain a freedom of intercourse among themselves, and unite with others somewhat above their condition, in christian and benevolent undertakings. They have not been bound by the frigid rules of politeness or the false notions of propriety in passing a particular line or circle, to associate and co-operate in advancing the interests of religion; and the minister has usually found that while the more wealthy of his charge could only *ride* in their carriages once on the Sabbath, to the house of solemn assembly, they could *walk* with repeated and ever-renewing eagerness of attendance there; and, while on ordinary days the former too often remained in the *drawing-room*, the latter could repair to the *vestry*, for prayer and praise.

'And who is yonder preacher of the 'everlasting gospel' on the sunny plains of India? Who is he, that is standing forth amidst the countless myriads that are repairing to the festival of Juggernaut, to maintain a noble contest with this and that group of brahminical dogmatists and idolatrous devotees, to announce to the multitude often laughing him to scorn, the tidings of salvation through the blood of atonement, and to spread abroad with untiring perseverance through the live-long day portions of the inspired volume, which he has spent previous years in translating into their vernacular idiom, or which his fellow-workers in the great cause of human happiness have assisted to prepare? Who is he that, after these toils, repairs to a lowly structure, where the gathering few that have 'tasted the good word of life' are convened, with many whom curiosity or secret purposes of mischief may have drawn together; and there, with fervent prayers and spirit-stirring appeals, dispenses the doctrines, warnings, or promises of the Bible, to ignorant and erring immortals, till sinners tremble and saints rejoice? Who, indeed, but that once poor and wicked child that was led, or rather driven by maternal beseechings to the village Sunday-school in Britain, to obtain the instructions of a voluntary benevolence, and be placed under the salutary restraints of a christian discipline! 'Ephraim 'was like a wild bull in a net;' but the bonds of a discipline then unwelcome, subdued, and the kindness of disinterested instructions

at length gained him. He learnt the elements of reading and religion ; his dark mind gradually admitted some rays of heavenly light ; he was taught again and again with the simplicity of truth, and the urgency of holy love, to repent of his sins, to believe in Christ, to seek reconciliation to God. His eye shed the frequent tear that distilled from a melted heart : he saw his guilt, repaired to the cross, and sought association with the church of the Redeemer. His religion became of an elevated character, and inspired thoughts of consecrated devotedness : long he trembled at himself, and felt the awful responsibility of touching holy things : but why should he not, and wherefore ought he not, to devote that sanctified heart to the service of his new found Saviour, which, in its carnality and deep debasement, had been given to the 'god of this world :' he hesitated—feared—kindled with irresistible zeal, and displayed missionary adaptations, left his beloved country—crossed the tempestuous ocean—and became the 'burning and shining light' he now appears ; imparting knowledge, exhibiting Christianity both in its doctrine and spirit, 'and turning many to righteousness,' in that distant land, which is the scene of his useful labours, as it will probably be the place of his honoured sepulture !"—pp. 39—42.

Our next extract is of a different character, more *sombre*, but not less instructive. We had scarcely expected to find our author so capable of sketching to the very life the scene described. A traveller's room is a world in itself, and divines are seldom permitted to look in upon its customs. An occasional glance, however, may be obtained, and Dr. Cox has obviously made the most of the moments he has spent there. We have known instances, and our author, probably, has reasoned upon such—of noble-hearted, generous, unsuspecting, and strictly moral young men, being ensnared and ruined by the associations and habits of 'the traveller's room.' At first, they shrank from the contaminations they found prevalent, but their principles were gradually undermined, and their hearts rendered callous. We have heard from some—subsequently reclaimed from vice—an account of their successive compliances with temptations, until, at length, they joined the class of tempters, and became the active emissaries of Satan. A great improvement has been recently effected. Still it is a fearful ordeal for the young and inexperienced. But we forget our author. The following is his description.

'There is another class who may, at first sight, appear more detached and isolated, but, nevertheless, are so widely spread, and retain their peculiar habits, and often their peculiar position in life, so long, that in this estimate of the claims of young men, they demand a very distinct reference ; I refer to those who are known by the name of *Travellers*. Employed by some central or metropolitan house of business, they go forth for months to visit and perform the necessary agencies of trade in every district and town of the kingdom. It is obvious, that

they are at once thrown into situations, in which they have great facilities both for receiving and imparting a moral influence. The spirit of worldly gain adapts itself to the diversified conditions of society; and, hence, in this country, we are supplied with public accommodations for every class. We have the hotel for the opulent, and the commercial inn for the traveller, that is, specifically for the traveller by profession. The young man receives his commission from his 'London house,' and forthwith commences his career. He 'puts up,' as the phrase is, at such an inn in such a town, which is the first of a series to which he has been recommended by his employers, or by more practised travellers; and there he finds what is technically called 'The Traveller's Room.' And what is a traveller's room? I mean to describe it not so much in its external features as in its moral character; but, in doing so, it is proper to premise that there are many and happy exceptions to what, nevertheless, even in the present advanced state of society, may, it is to be feared, be regarded as a general rule.

'Having disposed of his horse, or as, perhaps, it should *now* be more properly said, having alighted from the coach, whose convenience and cheapness alike invite to a change of former habits in this respect, the youth in question enters the accommodating apartment. Modest, diffident, unused to the ways of the world, he awaits the usual hour for refreshment. The conversation may be general, probably political, perhaps unmeaning; and each separates to make his *calls* upon customers in the town, or to extend the operations of his *principal*. Our young traveller pursues a similar course. The day closes; the transactions of the past hours of busy occupation are briefly *entered*, the needful letters of information written, and the evening lounge and evening meal arrive. Conversation is renewed; amusements are recommended; newspapers are read; inuendos against religion, or the claims of virtue, introduced;—some stroll out, and upon their return from their nocturnal perambulations, are little prepared to impart sentiments or produce impressions favourable to morals. Neither their language nor their conduct will, in fact, endure the scrutiny of virtue or the test of religion. They are fitted only to vitiate conscience and corrupt the heart. Expressions are repeated, which at first, like the gates of hell, as Milton describes, 'grate harsh discord' upon the unaccustomed ear. There is a *deposit* of evil, a *leaven* of unrighteousness left in the secret recesses of the mind. It may, however, be for a time resisted by virtuous predilections, a yet unsophisticated mind, and a cultivated understanding. The lessons of early instruction, if haply they have been judicious and religious, will be called to mind, parental solicitude, prayers, and admonitions will catch the inward quick-glancing thought, though it be only like the reflections of a mirror, or the reminiscences of a dream; and, perchance, maternal tears will seem to flow again with their entreating kindness and subduing effect. Satan has only, at present, insinuated the doubt—'Hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' Another day arrives; other temptations present themselves; and if the impression be not deepened, it is at least not obliterated. The unexperienced youth proceeds on his journey, pursues his appointed course, and by his associations in new

but similar places of concourse and communion, adds to his stores of disastrous knowledge, till the revolting character of vice is diminished by familiarity and habit ; that which was displeasing becomes tolerable, then attractive, and finally destructive. If an accurate and full-length portrait of his *future self* could be exhibited to *present view*, many a youthful adventurer would start with astonishment, and resentfully exclaim with Hazael, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?' and yet, by the gradual encroachments of sin upon a heart once apparently guarded and pervaded with virtuous sentiments, its base usurpation is established, and its detestable dictates are entirely obeyed. The influence of a guilty companionship, into which a young man may be thus early thrown, is incalculably great, by breaking down the barriers which have been previously reared by parental training or the discipline of a good education, or by confirming previous propensities to evil and habits of vice. And when it is recollected that the number is very considerable, of young men in this kind of employment, and that those who are exposed to these moral hazards are hereafter to be the heads of families, it will be manifest that the effect upon society is such as to constitute a powerful claim upon our attention, our sympathies, and our prayers.'—pp. 47—50.

We must make room for another extract, taken from the section on 'the duties of schoolmasters and teachers,' the whole of which is characterised by sound sense, and an accurate knowledge of human nature. We know the gentleman to whom our author refers in such grateful terms, as the guide and instructor of his youth, and have heard others of his pupils, occupying like Dr. Cox important stations in the Church of God, speak of him in similar language. Would that the number of such teachers was greatly multiplied.

'One of the first objects of a tutor should be, to secure a spirit of obedience, by conciliating affection and winning confidence. At an earlier period, the child should be trained to the *habit* of obedience, even though he may not know the *reasons* of it ; but as the mind expands, these should be supplied to the young man ; habit will then become principle. At the period when young men are most disposed to revolt, and to question 'the wisdom of their ancestors,' they are most really prepared to comprehend the grounds of discipline and the rectitude of authority ; and he will best secure it, who, while he shows it to be legitimate, makes it kind. A tutor is in the natural position of dictating to his pupil, as to the course of his studies and the mode of pursuing them ; and having carefully devised his plan, he must render it evident, amidst the fluctuations of juvenile caprice or ignorance, that instruction is a blessing to him who is taught, and a means used for a still higher end by him who teaches.

'Ideas of *pleasure* should be connected with those of tuition. The *labor ipse voluptas* may certainly be accomplished if the mind be properly disciplined, and may be perpetuated throughout the whole course

of intellectual effort. Formerly, the roads to knowledge resembled those of the country, rugged and rutty, full of dry and stony technicalities, or the mud of the ancient schools, and progress was necessarily slow and difficult: and though there is no royal road to knowledge, the skilful contrivances of art assisting science, and the plenitude of well-arranged classifications in the various departments of knowledge, together with improvements in oral communication, have smoothed and *macadamized* it.

‘The writer may be pardoned for the personality of a reference to the guide of his earlier years, as it affords an illustration of the subject. His method was familiar and Socratic. Instead of wearying the spirit with everlasting iterations of terms and phrases, and driving his pupil blindfold along the paths of knowledge, by conning over dry or unintelligible things, he would stimulate the faculties into action by winning means, elicit thought, and employ discussion. He not only imparted what he knew, but prompted inquiry, and became his pupil’s companion in research. If there were difficulties which he himself felt, he would acknowledge them, and seek to obviate them, inviting observation, calling in the aid of reason, or appealing to the elucidation of experiments, and tracking the dark shadow that flitted before him, till he overtook and dispersed it, or climbing the lofty mountain, with a patient and persevering step, till he ascended the height of discovery; or if, on the other hand, the difficulties were those only of his pupil, he would unfold the facts to him in a way which not only gave him a present triumph, but taught him the method of future and more important conquest. He knew it was better not to pass a difficulty without mastering it; and, therefore, instead of permitting flight or evasion, he would gently conduct his perplexed and half-desponding young friend over many a *pons asinorum* in literature and science. He still lives, and may he long live—the inspirer of taste, and the guide to useful knowledge!’—126—128.

The extracts we have given will enable our readers to form their own judgment on the style in which this volume is written, and as that judgment *must* be highly favorable, we need not say a word of commendation on this point. In reference to the more substantial qualities of the work, we shall merely remark, that it has rarely happened to us, to meet with a treatise of a didactic and religious nature, which combines in so happy a degree, the pleasing and the instructive, the power to interest with the power to benefit. The extensive circulation of such a volume among the younger branches of our families, cannot fail to exercise an influence friendly to domestic peace, to all fraternal affections, and to that purest of human passions which rests complacently on the Father of all mercies, and the God of all grace.

- Art. VII. 1. *The Church Review, and Scottish Ecclesiastical Magazine.* No. XXIII., February, 1838.
2. *Reports of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on Church Extension: Given in and read, May, 1835, 1836, and 1837.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., Convener.
3. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland.*
4. *On the Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Notes and Documents.* By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Minister of the United Associate Congregation, Broughton-place; and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Secession Church. Edinburgh: M. Paterson.

THE Ecclesiastical conflict pending in Scotland was for a long period nothing more than a war of principles; and such but for the folly of churchmen, it might perhaps have remained to a distant day. No movement was made, on either side, which could be expected very speedily to terminate in any great practical results. Like the old warfare against the evils of patronage, unsoundness of doctrine, and relaxation of discipline, the new contest against the principle of an Establishment might have been treated as a mere speculation. While the Dissenters triumphed in argument, the safety of the state-church would have been to treat them and their allegations with the old affectation of disdain and contempt. Although the pride of churchmen might thus have been humbled, their temporal interests would have been secure. But when, instead of submitting with seeming patience, as formerly, to charges which it was vain attempting to rebut, they turned round and made an aggressive movement,—their long-boasted security was gone at once and for ever. This was recklessly to engage in a species of warfare, for which they wanted the armour, the prowess, and the tactics indispensable to success; and the result must be their signal defeat, and the total destruction of their cause. As their only answer to the arguments urged against their old endowments, has been loud clamour, with a corresponding effort to obtain new ones, will it be any wonder, if, like the dog in the fable, while grasping at the shadow, they lose the substance? With a view to aggrandize themselves, and to trample the Voluntaries under their feet, they foolishly framed, and are madly prosecuting their celebrated scheme of Church Extension; by endeavouring to obtain such a Government grant as in the furtherance of that scheme, they, and their Tory supporters in Parliament, may be pleased to require. Thus outraging the feelings and infringing the rights of others, they have wantonly called forth the most powerful opposition from men of the soundest heads and hearts in the country, even among them-

selves as well as among Dissenters. Should the Legislature be brought seriously to listen to the voice of the opposition they have excited, how glaring and extreme will their folly appear! It will then be found, not only that 'the church is in danger,' but that the utter destruction of her civil establishment must be nigh at hand.

Our readers, we think, will readily admit that ample evidence was adduced in our former article, to prove that the Establishment in Scotland, so far from meriting further extension, deserves to be speedily, completely, and for ever overthrown. But, while our former discussion is, in one view, decisive of the whole question, the state of matters at present, renders it imperative, that we should now more particularly attempt to show that the Church Extension scheme itself is in a high degree absurd, iniquitous, and impracticable.

The character of this project may be judged of, not only from the manner in which it originated, but from the means which have been employed to insure its success. Had it not been for the increase and usefulness of Evangelical Dissenters, it had never been heard of. An unwilling, but unavoidable conviction of their growing importance and influence in the country, provoked churchmen—not certainly to the exercise of love, but nevertheless, to the performance of many good works. Among these, however, their efforts for Church Extension must not be numbered; for the promoters of this scheme, with high pretensions to wisdom, beneficence, and piety, have distinguished themselves by unprincipled attempts to calumniate Dissenters, to deceive their own people, and to impose on the Government.

After the violent attempts made for many years to put down the Secession, had completely failed, it became common among the more respectable class of churchmen to admit and applaud its importance and utility in the land. Thus we find the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, who wrote about twenty years ago, making the following statement: 'It cannot be denied, that among the ministers belonging to the Secession, there are individuals not inferior to the most respectable ministers of the Establishment; and it ought to be in candour admitted, that their people are, by a great proportion of them, as well instructed, as those who adhere to the church. It is obviously a subject of serious regret, that so large a proportion of the people should be in a state of separation from the Establishment; and so much the more that there is now no essential difference in the education, in the doctrines, in the standards, or in the general character of the Established and the Seceding clergy.*' How different from this

* *Brief Account of the Constitution of the Established Church of Scotland*, pp. 70, 91.

the language employed by our modern church extenders ! One of them, whom it were a disgrace to his brethren to name in the same page with almost any of them, has represented the whole of the largest Body of Seceders as guilty of *perjury*, because, in his view their original Creed bound them to approve of the principle of an Establishment, which yet they now repudiate and condemn. Even Dr. Chalmers, who, in his better days, avowed himself their friend, and was sometimes their panegyrist, since he was seized with his Church Extension *mania*, speaks of ‘the vulgarity and violence of those agitators who have gone about as emissaries of mischief, scattering all the elements of dissension and discontent ‘among the people !’* The conductors of the Church Review, however, have gone far beyond this ; but we will not defile our pages by retailing their outrageous slanders.

Not only are the statements of the Reviewer as false as they are outrageous, but he must have known them to be so. The most violent and reckless voluntary in Scotland never, at any public meeting or ‘soirée,’ employed, or would have been permitted to employ, any such horrible and inflammatory language as that which is imputed to ‘some reverend Doctors.’ They frame their lips to speak of ‘setting the church on fire’—of ‘scattering her ministers as chaff before the wind’—or ‘of wading ankle-deep in the blood of churchmen !’ If there is one Scripture which, more than another, they are accustomed to quote and to appropriate, it is this,—‘the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong-holds,’ &c. And as to ‘the language and conduct of the Central Board and the United Synod,’ let their *Resolutions* on the occasion referred to, which were advertised in the PATRIOT and other vehicles of public information, speak for themselves. We have perused and reperused them ; nor do we hesitate confidently to affirm, that the most torturing construction of malignant criticism will be unable to find in them any thing even approaching to what is denounced as being ‘seditious language.’ The truth is, the Reviewer belongs to a class, who, in reference to Dissenters, labour to alarm the fears, and to call forth the vengeance of the executive Government ;—nor, do they conceal their anxiety to bring back the iron age of our Pitts, our Dundases, and our Braxfields ; when those who ventured on freedom of discussion, were in danger of bonds and imprisonment, of banishment or death. Although they know not how to excuse the Duke of Wellington for the part he took in passing the Emancipation Bill, yet their chief hope for ‘restoring the Protestant constitution in all its pristine purity,’ seems to be in the House of Lords,

* Report of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension, (1837) p. 12.

which they characterize as 'that BULWARK between the tyranny of kings and *the savageness of mobs!*'

And yet some of these men, with all their bitterness against Dissenters and others of liberal views, have succeeded in deluding many simple people into the belief, that their burning zeal has for its principal object the extension of the church of Christ, the friend of men and 'the Prince of Peace.' After assuring their wretched dupes, that 'the arrows of Conder, Wardlaw, Marshall, Young, and Dick, lie shivered in a thousand fragments, and held up as trophies of their utter defeat—that their mystifications, their sophistry, and misrepresentations, are fully exposed, and held up to the scorn and ridicule of an intelligent public,'—these worthies proceed to show that public what they think 'a more excellent way.'

But, in truth, some much more estimable men than those to whom we now refer, have degraded themselves above measure by the manner in which they have attempted to delude the people, that they might get their co-operation in promoting the foolish scheme of Church Extension. They first tried them by framing specimens of Parliamentary petitions on the subject suited to various tastes. Five different forms at least were sent through the country, accompanied with letters to all clergymen, requesting them to fix on that most likely to please in their respective localities, and urging the necessity of getting numerous signatures 'in every parish, however remote, and among every population, however humble.'

And how were the signatures obtained? By different writers about the time referred to, statements substantially the same as what follows, were made; and, so far as we know, no man has dared to contradict them to this day. In many instances, the clergy, and their emissaries, procured the signatures of men, and even of *females* and *children*, in consequence of representations the most fallacious;—as, for instance, that the object of the petition was merely to provide instruction for the poor, who must otherwise be neglected;—that a very small grant of money would be necessary;—that it was not at all intended to interfere with Dissenters;—that there was nothing political in the matter, nor any object whatever, but 'the excavation of the immense mass of *'heathenism'* in the towns, and villages, and hamlets, in our land; and that therefore Dissenters of every class, and politicians of every creed, might, in perfect consistency with their peculiar principles, append their names to these petitions. In some cases, the petitions were never read to those who were required to subscribe them. In other instances, where doubts were expressed, such influence as grandees may be supposed to have on those in humbler life, or landlords over their tenants, and masters over their servants, was successfully em-

ployed. Numbers who ultimately found that they had been deceived, applied to have their names erased, but were refused; and some signed counter-petitions. Nevertheless, the petitions got up in this disgraceful way, were, without loss of time, forwarded to Parliament. But when the facts of the case were brought out, not only the great body of Dissenters, but vast numbers of those connected with the Establishment, joined in representing the true state of matters, by forwarding a sufficient number of petitions so expressed as to render it evident, that, had the endowments prayed for been granted, there would have been a simultaneous burst of indignation in every district of the United Empire, which no power on earth could have suppressed.

The next extraordinary device of the Church Extensionists was to publish Annual Reports of their proceedings. And of these Reports we cannot say less, than that they abound with more extravagant descriptions, more Utopian theories, more ingenious nonsense, and more glaring mis-statements, than were ever before attempted to be palmed on human credulity by any set of men pretending to common sense, or common honesty. The celebrated individual, who is their real author, while greatly to be pitied, as having, no doubt, been imposed on by others of a baser description, who have played upon his childish simplicity, and heated imagination, is also greatly to be condemned, as having in his turn, drawn largely on what he calls 'the gullibility' of the people. Let us take the following specimen in confirmation of this remark,—it respects the public meetings held in various places for promoting the scheme:

'It is certainly most gratifying to have had the countenance on these occasions, of men of the highest rank in the country, and that our first nobility should have presided or taken part in the business of these assemblies. But we confess ourselves to have been still more interested by the evening meetings at which we were encouraged by a large and increasing attendance of the common people. It is not too much to say of these meetings that *they have medicated the spirit of every neighbourhood in which they have been held: and that without a single exception, they have left behind them a preponderance of conviction and good will in favour of the Established Church. The acceptance, the cordiality, often the enthusiasm, wherewith our speakers were listened to, have scarcely in one instance been ruffled by so much as a whisper of dissatisfaction.* Even in what to us were the most formidable places, and where the greatest opposition was anticipated, *the argument on the side of the Church and of Church extension found its way into the hearts and consciences of a willing auditory. Though certainly prepared for controversy, should it come in our way, we have not yet been called to any serious encounter with it. On the contrary, the inherent strength of our cause seems to be felt and acknowledged, wherever we have the opportunity of openly and publicly propounding it; and never did an experiment at first untried, and therefore some-*

what uncertain, so speedily conduct its adventurers to an experience at once the most delightful in itself, and promising the best results to the prosperity and safety of the Church of Scotland. The cause of an endowed and established Church is now more linked and identified than ever with the cause of the common people; and as the fruit of the expositions that have been given, we have advanced prodigiously in moral strength during the course of the last twelvemonth. We hold that the doings of the agency last year have established to demonstration, that our cause has only to be known, in order to become triumphant every where. They have had a most powerful sanative influence over the whole length and breadth of the Establishment; and we feel assured that a public meeting in every parish would make the whole of our ancient kingdom to rise, if not as one man, at least in overbearing majority, for the defence of our Church, and the furtherance of the great objects which she is now prosecuting. It is all the more desirable to make known the inherent and essential popularity of our cause, under the discouragements to which we are exposed from the retardation, or, for the season, the disappointment of our hopes. Ours is a cause too firmly based on the principles and sense of the Scottish community to be given up in despair. It may be shaken, but cannot be overthrown. Did we but know wherein it is that its great strength lies, we should not be discouraged either by adverse decisions within the senate, or by those sounds of fierce and fearful controversy without, to which the agitation of its questions may from time to time have given rise.'

—Report, (1837) pp. 12—14.

We could not read this passage, without having brought forcibly to our recollection the adage, *Credat Judæus*.—Believe it who can. But we shall only say, that he must be a wonderful simpleton and of easy faith indeed, who does not at once perceive that the wrapt enthusiast, who penned it, was recording merely the visions of his fancy, and the wishes generated in a disordered brain, instead of facts that had been or that could be substantiated. After due inquiry in the proper quarters, we are compelled, 'more in sorrow than in anger,' to aver, what we undertake before any competent tribunal to prove, that the above statements generally, but especially those which we have marked in *italics*, and they are indeed nearly the whole, are totally at variance with the realities of the case. The Deputation referred to, so far from being 'prepared to meet controversy' at the public meetings which they held, would suffer none to reply to any of their arguments or averments: and when afterwards challenged to meet their opponents, the challenge was positively declined, under the pretence, that, as Dr. Simpson, one of the most zealous and talented among them, declared, 'controversy was not the principle of their proceedings. At their commencement,' he adds, 'this point was fully considered and determined; and in announcing to our brethren the measures we are now pursuing, it was distinctly

‘stated that the object is not of a controversial character, but ‘to communicate information on the subject of Church extension.’ These were the very words of his letter, declining a challenge which had been given him after speaking at one of the meetings referred to—the letter can at any time be produced; and the terms of it are in express contradiction to the statement in the Report, that ‘they were certainly prepared for controversy, should it come ‘in their way!’ Why, again, did these ambulatory physicians need to ‘*medicate* the spirit of every neighbourhood,’ and to produce ‘a *sanative* influence’ on the minds of its inhabitants, if their minds had been previously in any thing like a sound and healthy state? While publicly proclaiming and administering their *nostrums*, ‘whispers of dissatisfaction’ were not allowed. But counter-meetings, *much more numerously attended*, were subsequently held; and when the deleterious nature of their prescriptions was described, a response was given, not in ‘whispers of dissatisfaction,’ but in thundering peals of indignation. If, indeed, as the Report says, ‘their cause has only to be known, in order to become triumphant every where,’ how does it happen that petitions in its favour from among the people are now heard of no where? And how will they be able to account for the undeniable fact, that petitions against it among all but the most rabid Tories, are in preparation ‘every where,’ and with thousands and thousands of signatures, alike of Churchmen and Dissenters, are pouring in daily into the Commons House of Parliament. The late petition against endowments from the city of Glasgow alone, was subscribed by 40,400 persons. Their attempts to gull the people, then, have after all proved to be equally foolish, contemptible, and abortive.

But they have also attempted fearfully to impose on the Government of the country. And the first species of imposition which they sought to practise on the ministry of the day, after their plans of Church extension had been concocted, was to have it understood and taken for granted as a matter of course, that all their representations on the subject, just because they were *theirs*, must necessarily contain ‘the truth, the whole truth, ‘and nothing but the truth.’ They had, at one critical period in the history of the case, so far succeeded in this, that their confidence of an ultimate triumph waxed bold, and began to be expressed in terms of frantic delight. This can hardly be considered matter of wonder, when, to use their own phrase, it was a ‘confidence founded on the gracious recommendation of their ‘cause from the throne!’ Our readers will remember that this recommendation was made on the opening of the first session of Sir Robert Peel’s Parliament. The light, which they supposed that the hated Reform Bill had well nigh ‘put out in obscure ‘darkness,’ had just begun to dawn. They hoped that the palmy

days of Toryism were about to return in all their brightness and beneficence—when the Church would only have to ask, and her ancient friends and natural allies would be ready to give. But unfortunately for the cause and the confidence of our Church extensionists, though happily for the interests of freedom, equity, and truth, those halcyon days soon passed away. And before publishing their Report for May, 1835, they were compelled, under a feeling of bitter disappointment, and inexpressible sorrow, to speak of them as days that had already gone.

‘*The days were,*’ they say, ‘when it might have been thought enough to have addressed ourselves in written memorials, or by personal interviews, to the wisdom of our rulers, to their own independent judgment and principle; and in such a cause as ours, with such an object of best and highest patriotism, we do feel ourselves on firm vantage ground for holding converse with the statesmen and senators of our land. But over and above this, there is *now* in public questions a demand for external testimony, an anxiety to learn *what may be the collective voice of the people, perhaps a disposition to number rather than to weigh*; and so in this preference of arithmetic over statics, to hinge every measure or determination of the governing body more on the state of a will that is without, than on a wisdom within, taking independent cognizance of every question, and deciding on the merits which inherently and essentially belong to it. *In the judicatories of our Church, the light of scripture and the light of reason are the paramount authorities which we acknowledge*; and let it be our prayer, that under their guidance we may be upheld in a fearless course of consistency and rectitude, which not even the oppositions of the multitude shall ever tempt us to desist or to deviate from.—But when a civil government requires to know, not only what is for the good of the community, but, ere they shall adopt it, to know also what is the will of the community—in helping them to this information, we felt as if we acted under the sanction of apostolic example, in becoming all things to all men, if by any means in themselves lawful, we could obtain that extension of our Church, which, with the blessing of God on the enlarged preaching of the word, might be the instrument of saving many souls.’
—Report for 1835, pp. 10, 11.

There is in this passage an artful, but a very obvious and base insinuation against the Government and the Legislature generally, that their rule of judging and acting in a case so important as that referred to, would merely be a regard to the wishes, however erroneously formed or absurdly expressed—of their respective constituents, whose favour and continued support they were anxious, at whatever expense of political principle or even of piety, to secure. That this is not an overstrained inference from the hints here more covertly thrown out, is evident from the following sufficiently plain, broad, and unmeasured language, employed shortly after, on the subject, by Dr. Chalmers at a meeting

of what is called the Commission of the General Assembly : ‘ If,’ said the infuriated orator, ‘ men are to be found who *can sport and tamper with interests so sacred*, to whom *the gratification of their own electors is dearer far than the moral and immortal well-being of the thousands* beneath them in the scale of society, who to secure *their Dissenting constituency* will make a sacrifice of the ‘unfranchised population, and rather than that their own *wretched politics* should suffer, *would have irreligion and ignorance perpetuated among the families of our land* ; if such men there be, and there is a voice of greater ascendancy in the councils of Government than our own—if the highest objects of patriotism must make place and give way before the contests of partizanship, it is not for the church to mingle in this unseemly fray ; but having lifted up her testimony, and told her rulers, as became her, both of the duties of the State, and the necessities of the people, to feel acquitted of her office, and calmly wait the arrival of happier times.’*

The conduct of the legislators thus described and condemned, it is intimated, was the more outrageous, in thwarting the views of a Church, all whose judicatories regulate their decisions solely, as above stated, by ‘ the light of Scripture, and the light of reason as ‘ the paramount authorities which they acknowledge.’ But who will believe this? Much has been said of late years about the improvement that has taken place in the Church of Scotland ; and we ourselves recollect having heard one of her zealous friends mention, as a proof of this, that a minister might *now* read a portion of Scripture, and appeal to its authority, in the General Assembly, without being laughed at ! But there is much room for further improvement. At that very Assembly in which the Report under consideration was read, so far from being guided by ‘ the ‘ light of Scripture as their paramount authority,’ Dr. M’Crie, to whom they are so fond of appealing as a friend, when it suits their purpose, condemns them for having set this authority at defiance in matters of vital and pre-eminent importance. ‘ An ‘ overture,’ says he, ‘ involving a charge of error on a capital ‘ article of our religion, justification by faith, has been dismissed ‘ simply on the declaration of the accused individual, that he was ‘ perfectly sound on that head. The decision on Calls, so much ‘ applauded by many, together with its strange but not unsuitable ‘ accompaniments, I can look upon in no other light but as an ‘ attempt to gull the people with a show of privilege, while it ‘ subjects them to be fettered at every step in the exercise of it, ‘ and involves them in the inextricable meshes of legal chicanery.’†

* Speech, p. 14.

† M’Crie’s Sermons, p. 346.

It seems most unaccountable that Dr. Chalmers should have ventured to characterize, as guided by 'the paramount authority 'of the light of Scripture and the light of reason,' an Assembly in which, in matters of great religious importance, he and his friends have been so commonly outvoted, and in which their predecessors usually called, 'the evangelical party,' have been in the minority, and that often a small minority, for more than a hundred years! Was it that in this too he strangely supposed he felt as if he acted under the sanction of apostolic example, in becoming 'all things to all men?'

However this be, certain it is that an appeal to apostolic example was never before so prostituted, as when it was made to sanction the mode in which the General Assembly's committee acted in 'helping' government 'to the information' wanted in order to induce them to aid by a pecuniary grant in the scheme of Church extension. They attempted this, in the first instance, by the old method of 'addressing themselves in written memorials, 'and by personal interviews to the wisdom of their rulers,' with the hope that, as formerly, these would be quite sufficient. And of what nature their representations were, may be learnt from the account given by themselves:

'We addressed ourselves to the object of obtaining public and parliamentary support in favour of our Church; and with the view of strengthening and preparing the way for a formal application to government on its behalf. In our circular marked No. 5, and which was distributed chiefly among Scottish members of parliament, we expressed a strong preference for the aid of Government towards helping out the annual maintenance of the clergymen of the new churches, rather than for a building grant towards the erections themselves. We felt the superior importance of the former over the latter, *to the great object of moderating the seat-rents, so as to make these churches accessible to the common people at large.* Knowing how obnoxious the very name of an endowment is to those who have reflected not on the precise use to which it is subservient,—*we endeavoured to make quite palpable the connexion between all that we sought at their hands, and the inestimable benefit of a cheap and universal Christian education for the working classes of society.* We had too great confidence in the generosity and love of frankness which characterize the rulers of every land of freedom, to be at all fearful of offending, because we spoke as we felt, or *because we felt not as petitioners, but as donors.* And even still, should we be again employed as the bearers of a commission on the high errand of Christian patriotism, we will go, *not in the attitude of fawning supplicants, the representatives of a prostrate and pusillanimous church, grasping at the endowments of office, and bent, as our enemies have told it, either on the destruction of rivals, or the aggrandizement of our own sect and order.* We certainly do expect their co-operation in *this enterprise of charity*; and that, to arrest the gathering mischief of a

depraved, because *too long neglected population*, they will both listen to our advice, and *accept our aid*. The *hundred and thirty churches* which we shall put into their hands, and ask them to endow, *it is not to enrich the clergymen*, but *by the lowering of the seat-rents in each and all of these churches, to facilitate thereinto the entry of the people*. The endowment EVERY SHILLING OF WHICH *goes to the cheapening of family-pews for the working classes, is not a boon to churchmen, but is a boon to the common people*,—not a device, as in the delusive hour of clamour and calumny it has been grossly represented, for the multiplication of pampered ecclesiastics; but a device for the elevation of the lower orders in the scale of intelligence and virtue,—that the now unprovided outcasts in our populous cities and unwieldy parishes may be reclaimed and humanized by the lessons of religion,—above all, that their imperishable spirits may be trained for immortality, and the gospel of Jesus Christ be preached *without money and without price to the poorest of the land*.—Report, (for 1835) pp. 8, 9.

Such, then, is the *denouement* of their scheme of Church extension, given in their own words, and such the reasons by which they attempted to urge it on a professedly enlightened and liberal government, and on various members of a *reformed* parliament, some of whom represent constituencies by the majority of which the scheme has been denounced as uncalled for and extravagant, wild and wicked. Let us now proceed to analyze it a little; and it will not be difficult to prove to the satisfaction of our readers, that a most disingenuous, but a most impotent attempt has been made to befool our rulers, to degrade and ruin Dissenters, nay, and to set at nought the common sense of all ‘to whom their *presents* may come.’ Now all this may be rendered apparent by the slightest attention alike to what these men *disclaim*, and to what they *demand*.

We begin by mentioning, as a notable curiosity, rather than from any material bearing it can have on the question at issue, that, when in the very act of petitioning government, they are careful to disclaim being considered as *beggars* in any sense. They are not ‘fawning supplicants,’ nor yet supplicants of any kind; not even ‘petitioners, but donors;’ not soliciting aid from government, but politely expressing the hope, that government ‘will accept *their* aid.’ Yet these beautiful paradoxes, it seems, admit of an easy and ingenious explanation. The men who were in too dignified an ‘attitude,’ to petition the government, would not surely condescend to petition the people. But somehow or other, they got from the people what they liberally presented as a *donation* to the Government; hoping, that, without ‘petitioning,’ and merely by giving ‘advice,’ they would get it back with something more, and then, with noble and disinterested munificence, make another donation of the whole, ‘not as a boon to ‘churchmen, but a boon to the common people!’ It was indeed

to be regarded as altogether a singular 'enterprise of charity.' Their *donation* to government consisted of 'one hundred and thirty churches, which they put into their hands, and *asked them to endow.*' This, it appears, is their way of making a present. They were not, therefore, 'the representatives of a prostrate and pusillanimous church, grasping at the endowments of office'—not they. It is true, that sixty-six of these churches, now made over as a gift to the government, were old Chapels of Ease, whose Ministers had hitherto been supported entirely on the Voluntary plan. But, even as it respected these chapels, 'every shilling of the endowment now asked, was to go to the cheapening of family-pews for the working classes.' The ministers of these chapels, according to this, were to receive no larger income, nor to have any better security for their living, nor, indeed, in any way, or to any extent, to be 'enriched,' by the proposed endowment! But who will be foolish enough to believe all this? They did not believe it themselves. And yet they ventured to employ the style of artful concealment in the hope of imposing on the uninformed, though at the certain risk of getting credit for nothing but dishonesty from those who understood all about the matter.

Again, they disclaim the intention of burdening government, or rather taxing the country, to any great extent by asking them to endow a vast number of Churches. In the above quotation, they speak of only sixty-three *new* churches for which they ask an endowment. But in the Article No. 5, to which reference is made, they are more explicit; still, however, expressing themselves with the utmost caution, and in a way the least calculated to excite alarm. They ask, 'the prospective endowment of all new churches to be afterwards raised. This process,' they add, 'behoved to go on *very gradually*, and would subject Government to an expense *trifling* at the outset, and increasing by *almost* imperceptible augmentations; to be terminated when our large towns and over-peopled parishes were all fully supplied.*

The downright jesuitism of all this is obvious. It was meant, at this *incipient* application, to delude Government into the belief, that endowment was to be asked for such new churches only as were built at the expense of those who in the different localities felt the necessity which existed for them. One fact is carefully concealed, that, in various instances, the money was merely subscribed for, and (while it might never have been paid) was safely retained in the pockets of the subscribers, till the endowment should be actually obtained. Another fact no less disgracefully concealed at first from Government, was, that while very many

* Report, 1835, p. 37.

would not subscribe at all, till they should see the endowment secured, the church extensionists were urging their friends at home by every method they could devise to seek the speedy 'multiplication' of new churches for endowment, after having laboured to persuade the Government that their object was to be gained by a process, very *gradual* in point of time, and very *trifling* in point of expense. Hence, they say, in their very next year's Report:

'There is one question on which we promised a very brief deliverance. We allude to the disposition, we fear *too prevalent*, on the part of the church's best friends, to do nothing for her extension until they see what Government is to do. This, we hold, both in respect of principle and of sound policy, to be a sad inversion of the right process. At this rate, it were altogether at the decision of any Government, *however careless or contemptuous of religion it might be*, whether *the measures of the Church* for advancing the kingdom and the gospel of Jesus Christ, should be permitted to go forward, or have an arrest laid upon them. Every new erection is *pro tanto* a contribution; and, we repeat, that *the multiplication* of these will prove the patent way to the endowment of them. If the church will but do what she might, the cause must gather in strength and in public support every day, and in the momentum of *its progress*, will carry the general mind of society, and with this will carry the Government then relieved of perplexity along with it.'—*Report for 1836*, pp. 23, 24.

The absurdity of this passage is equalled only by its insolence: government is applied to for an endowment; and yet the matter is not to be 'at the decision of any government,' but agreeably to 'the measures' adopted by 'the church,' which must not be 'permitted to have an arrest laid upon them!' We say nothing, at present, of the utter incongruity with all Christian principle, and with the slightest pretensions to decency in Christian men, that they are willing to be indebted in any way, for the extension and further establishment of their church, to the co-operation of a Government which, they allege, may be in the highest degree, 'careless or contemptuous of religion.' We only ask, whether it can be according to the will of Jesus Christ, that '*his kingdom and gospel should be advanced*,' by such a wretched, and even diabolical species of instrumentality as this? Is Satan now divided against himself? Let them answer these queries; and they will be obliged to admit that in most, if not in all cases, they involve practical results which are perfectly decisive of the whole question of *civil* establishments of a *divine* religion.

But, in the mean time, their object is, *per fas aut nefas*, to have their church *greatly* extended, although in their first application to Government, they wished it to be understood that a

very limited extension was all that they required. Nor do they hesitate *now*, for the attainment of their object to attempt moving heaven and earth, while, according to their own showing, it may, also, be necessary to get the assistance of those who are guided by an influence from the lowest and the worst region in the universe.

Be this as it may, soon after the primary application to Government, 'the Royal Commission of Religious Instruction, Scotland,' was appointed: and from the returns made by churchmen to a circular issued by that commission, it appeared, that more than five hundred new churches were wanted at once! Some have since gone still further, and maintained that there should be a church for every thousand persons, which would require the number of the present churches to be much more than doubled? Nevertheless, they have the highest authority for encouraging the expectation that even to that extent, or beyond it; their wishes will be realized. At a meeting, in Edinburgh, at which the Lord Provost presided, Lord Moncreiff made this statement: '*If the extent of Scotland be covered with churches of the Establishment, let no man fear but they will receive the endowments to which they are entitled, (what would the amount in this case be?) and the church be thereby enabled to continue, as it always has been, the friend alike of sound principle, pure religion, and peace and social order in every branch of government.*' How could men, who all along had cherished such expectations; and, who, as we shall presently see, were bound, on their own principles, to seek their realization; yet dare to impose on the rulers of the land, by affecting the most moderate views at the commencement of their manœuvres, only as the means of securing demands which, if explicitly avowed, would have led to their instant rejection?

The only other thing we shall mention as disclaimed by our church extensionists, is, that they have any view to aggrandize their own church at the expense of Dissenters. 'They are not bent,' they say, 'as their enemies have held it, either on the destruction of rivals, or the aggrandizement of their own sect and order.' For this bold and barefaced assertion, they do not surely expect any mortal to give them credit. It has often been contradicted by their own friends. Nay, a member of that very committee; the same to whom formerly we referred, thus broadly contradicts it. 'We know well, that the grant of this money will tend somewhat to injure them (the Dissenters) that it will withdraw some of their supporters who sit with them from the want of accommodation in the established church (?) and compel them to lower their seat-rents, because we will undersell them in the market; and we have too good an opinion of the prudence, wisdom, and caution of our countrymen ever to

‘imagine that they will pay eight shillings for an article which they can get as good for four shillings. In this way their pecuniary interests will be effected;’ nay, and to such an extent, as afterwards intimated, that they may not be ‘enabled to retain their present congregations, to keep up their high seat-rents, and to pay the interests of their debts;’ and, hence, ‘all their complaints of hardships and apprehensions of *annihilation* in a pecuniary point of view!’* How truly did Mr. Gillon, himself a member of the Church of Scotland, and, therefore, it may be presumed, an unbiassed and competent judge; in his place in Parliament, say, ‘The outcry which had been raised in Scotland about religious destitution, was nothing more than a *crusade* by the clergy of the favoured sect upon the Dissenters, who received and asked nothing from the State!’

But on this subject we beg leave to appeal to the publication of Dr. Brown, of Edinburgh—a man who for his talents, learning, and character, is held in the highest admiration, by all who have the happiness of his acquaintance. We regret that our limits prevent our quoting from his admirable treatise, which we warmly recommend to the early perusal of our readers. ‘The law of Christ respecting civil obedience, especially in the payment of tribute,’ has seldom been so fully, and never, that we know of more happily illustrated. As a critical and yet plain and luminous exposition of a confessedly difficult passage of holy writ, which has often been prostituted to subserve the vilest purposes, by the admirers and supporters of arbitrary power, it is invaluable. The notes alone extending to sixty-six pages in very small type, show that the author possesses stores of learning, which an amazingly retentive and ready memory enables him instantaneously to produce for the illustration of any subject belonging to the highest departments of divine science or of human knowledge. We congratulate our friends of the Secession in Scotland on having such a man to fill one of the most prominent stations in their church, and also in their theological seminary: and we hope he will be long preserved to adorn each, and thus, both directly and indirectly, to be a successful teacher of many in the great doctrines connected alike, with Christian freedom, and ‘civil obedience,’ with the interests of spiritual religion on earth, and ‘the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory,’ in heaven.

It still remains to consider what our Scottish Church Extensionists so clamorously *demand* from the bounty or rather from the justice, ‘of a paternal Christian government.’ At the outset, as we have seen, they laboured to get their principle recognized by seeming

to make only a very moderate demand; but it is now evident, that nothing less will satisfy them than such a number of new endowed churches as shall be proportioned to the vast increase of the population, since the period when their establishment was framed. Their scheme carries absurdity on its very face. And yet they are reckless enough to urge the adoption of it, by such reasons as the following; that the religious destitution throughout the country is great and deplorable; that the church accommodation and pastoral superintendence necessary to meet that destitution, are quite inadequate; that dissenting places of worship are not to be taken into the account; and, that even if they were reckoned, and allowing that in some few places, there may be vacant church-room, yet it will still be found, that owing to high priced seat rents, and other causes, there is no church-accommodation for 'the poor and working classes.' Such are the bold pretences by which churchmen attempt to justify their present 'crusade.' But the slightest review of them will show their utter futility.

On the subject of *religious destitution*, it appears to us that a great deal has been foolishly asserted on the one side, and incautiously admitted on the other, which, from want of precision in the meaning affixed to the phrase, has no bearing on the question at issue. If this phrase is intended to convey the idea of *irreligion*, then the prevalence of the evil is great and fearful indeed. But it will not surely be pretended, that building places of worship, and endowing them well, so as to let the seats at the lowest price, or, at no price, will completely cure *this* evil. Suppose that our most sanguine church extensionists saw, what they anticipate soon seeing, numerous 'well filled plebeian churches,' would even this put an end to the distinction between the church and the world? Or, would the language of an Apostle no longer be applicable, if employed by Christians in our day, 'We know that 'we are born of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness?' Alas! to what an extent not only in the establishment, but out of it, does religious destitution in this sense, prevail even among those who form the church-going population in our land? Who would think of building churches for all the rest 'lying in wickedness,' as if the sight of the steeple, and the sound of 'the church-going bell' would constrain them to come at once and hear, and be converted, and saved for ever? On this principle, the direction of infinite wisdom should not have been, 'Go and teach all nations;' but 'Go, and in the first instance, build churches in all nations; get them sufficiently endowed, that thus you may secure *pastoral* superintendence for those who as yet do not belong to the *flock*; and having collected them in this way within the structure reared for their accommodation, begin to teach them 'savingly and to profit.' But to be serious,—for who that has any sense of the

ludicrous, will not sometimes be obliged to laugh to scorn such extravagance and folly—the truth is, that the gospel, and the genuine religion which it engenders, has ever been like ‘a light shining in a dark place:’ and till the bright and blissful period of ‘the latter days,’ a large portion of moral darkness or religious destitution in this sense, will be found prevalent in every land.

But, if by *religious destitution*, be understood a want of the public means of promoting religion, then, we maintain, that except in rare and remote districts, the complaints so loudly made of late, and so shamefully reiterated *usque ad nauseam*, are without foundation. The means of religious instruction, such as they are, all must allow, are more abundant in Scotland, in proportion to its size, than in any other kingdom under heaven. Besides about eight hundred dissenting chapels, there is a church in every parish. There is, therefore, no want of the means of religious instruction; but we say again, *such as they are*; for it is but too true, that these ostensible means are, in many instances, of the worst possible description. As far as places of worship go, there is no destitution. In several of the parish churches, however, there are most inefficient ministers; some who cannot preach, because, they do not know the gospel; or some, whose people are necessarily ignorant and irreligious, while they are themselves ‘accursed,’ because they ‘preach another gospel, which is not another, ‘but a perversion of the gospel of Christ.’ These are, after all, the places where the worst species of religious destitution prevails. New ministers, and not new churches are wanted. But give them, as is now so clamorously demanded additional churches, supplied with ministers endowed and established on the old plan, and what can be expected but the old results? The same causes would be in operation, which to use the words of Dr. Chalmers himself, have ‘so severed the church from the common people, as to reduce to naked architecture one half of the costly apparatus reared by a former age for upholding the Christian worth and virtue of the commonwealth.’ Nay, let the new churches and their pastors be even so numerous and so popular, as,—were that possible,—to supplant all the Dissenters in the country; and ere long the kingdom would be filled with religious destitution, and present one unbroken scene of moral darkness, desolation, and death.

We are free to declare that, in our opinion, there is generally speaking, no want of church accommodation. But this is fully proved by documentary evidence in the ‘Reports of the Royal Commission of Religious Instruction,’ as it respects the particular places to which these Reports refer; and to them we must now appeal. They are, however, ponderous volumes; and it would be tedious, and, indeed, alike impossible and unnecessary for us here to enter minutely into their very numerous, though

very important statistical details. The results, in as far as they are requisite for our immediate purpose, may be very shortly stated. As it respects EDINBURGH, then it appears, that the total number of sittings is—in *the Establishment*, 36,001; *among the Dissenters*, 42,005; that of these are let; in *the Establishment*, 20,995; *among the Dissenters*, 23,193. Free, in *the Establishment*, 1230; *among the Dissenters*, 7247. Otherwise allocated, in *the Establishment*, 3982; *among the Dissenters*, 205. NOT LET or allocated, in *the Establishment*, 9794; *among the Dissenters*, 11,360.

In regard to GLASGOW, the total number of sittings is; in *the Establishment*, 33,100; *among the Dissenters*, 48,230; of these are let, in *the Establishment*, 23,941; *among the Dissenters*, 28,948; specially set apart as free, in *the Establishment*, 153; *among the Dissenters*, 5005. Otherwise allocated, in *the Establishment*, 2407; *among the Dissenters*, 1223. UNLET, or allocated, in *the Establishment*, 6599; *among the Dissenters*, 13,047.

And now, taking Edinburgh and Glasgow; according to the doctrine propounded by Sir Robert Peel, and assented to by Lord John Russell, as affording a fair specimen of the state of matters throughout the towns of Scotland generally, what becomes of the piteous outcry about ‘the neglected population, the religious destitution,’ and ‘the unexcavated heathenism of the city lanes?’ And where, at any rate, is the want of church-accommodation, when in Edinburgh there are altogether of *unlet* sittings, in the different places of worship, 21,154; and in Glasgow, 19,646? Surely, it is not too much to characterize the rage for building more churches, with a compulsory endowment to each of them, in these cities, as the very height of madness. Of all sorts of Tory jobs, and of all specimens of Tory expenditure, numerous and repulsive as they have been, this would, in some respects, be the most extravagant and absurd.

We have, indeed, in estimating the amount of church-accommodation, like the royal commissioners, been assuming, that the dissenting places of worship must be taken into the account. But this the thorough-going church extensionists utterly disclaim. And it must be admitted, that in this, at least, they are entitled to the praise of consistency, in following out their grand principle to its legitimate results. They would unchurch all the Dissenters in the country, because their so-called churches are not established, nor their creed sanctioned, nor their very existence recognized by the law of the land. They, therefore, demand church-accommodation for the entire population, without any reference to dissenters whatever. Their real and undisguised sentiments on this point have recently been propounded by David Monypenny, Esq. (late Lord Pitmilley of the Court of Session) in a pamphlet, which, it is said, after having received

the *imprimatur* of Dr. Chalmers, was next recommended to public attention by his eloquence, in a most laudatory review, which appeared in the *Scottish Guardian*. This high legal authority does not mince matters. He rightly lays it down as undoubted law, that 'whenever a certain form of religion is adopted, and becomes the established religion of the country, it must be the aim and purpose of the state, to furnish this establishment with means sufficient for the instruction of the whole body of the people who are capable of receiving such knowledge.' Again, 'pursuing the same line of argument, we may inquire, what would be thought of a parish containing five or six thousand persons capable of attending church, but which should exhibit an inability to give seat-room to more than one thousand, and should thus tacitly acknowledge to four or five thousand of its parishioners, that they must either become Dissenters, or must absent themselves altogether from public worship?' And, again, 'according to the strictly legal view of an ecclesiastical establishment, it ought to be capable of communicating religious and moral instruction, both in public and private, to the whole body of the people, with the exception only, in so far as it relates to the public service of the church, of those who are unable to be present at public ordinances.*'

Such are the statements of this advocate for establishments on the pure principles of law; leaving the Bible, as he professedly does, altogether out of the question; and the following is part of a review, written evidently by some Tory churchman, in *BLACKWOOD*, in reference to these statements: 'The views which are here stated, we conceive to be of the highest importance in this question. Never, we trust, will the friends of our establishment take lower ground than this in the discussion of this question; for in abating one jot in this its just and rightful claims, we feel convinced that we are, in truth, giving up all for which our adversaries are contending. We think, the author demonstrates most triumphantly, that it is of the essence of a church establishment to endeavour to provide instruction for the whole people; and that if nonconformity and the means of religious instruction which it may contribute were admitted as elements in the question, we should, in truth, go far to admit the soundness of the Voluntary principle.†' In the unquestionable truth of this statement we do most entirely concur; and just because this grasping and monopolizing character is 'of the essence of a church establishment,' we denounce such an institution as absurd and impracticable.

* The claims of the Established Church of Scotland on the country to promote its extension, &c., pp. 6, 9, 12.

† *Blackwood's Magazine*, for September, 1837, p. 379.

We can easily understand why men like Lord Pitmilley and his reviewer should labour with all their might to uphold such a system. But, it does, we confess, puzzle us not a little to conceive how *Evangelical* ministers can dare to stigmatize as nonentities, or to reprobate as unchristian and wicked hundreds of churches, in which, all well-informed and candid men will admit, that so much has been done to maintain and promote vital religion in the land. Nor can we imagine, how upon any recognized principle of common sense or christian charity, they can feel warranted in refusing to acknowledge as the true servants of God, such a number of ministers, who, for talents, learning, piety, and usefulness, are most of them fully equal, and some of them far superior, to many of themselves. Who can but feel indignant to hear even Dr. Chalmers employ such senseless and calumnious language on the subject as the following: ‘A dissenting place of worship, as it forms no guarantee, so it furnishes no index for the church-going habit of its contiguous families. It has but effected a transference, not a creation of worshippers. This last is the proper office of a territorial establishment; and if not furnished with the means for such a service in a sufficiency both of ministers and churches, then let *the feeble supplement of sectarian chapels be multiplied as they may—they are but signals of a great scarcity instead of the symptoms of abundance, and we shall behold the PROFLIGACY and IRRELIGION of our land to be multiplied along with them.*’—*Report for 1835*, p. 31.

Some, indeed, are for very shame obliged to admit, that those whom they tauntingly represent as ‘unauthorized teachers,’ or ‘out-field labourers,’ may be taken into account, together with their congregations, in estimating the amount of Christian instruction in the country. But then, they maintain, at the same time, that, reckoning all of them together, and thus allowing that there may, in some places, be vacant church-room, still owing to high-priced seat-rents, and other causes, there must be a want of church-accommodation for ‘the poor and working classes. But this is a pretence fully as barefaced and untenable as the rest.

The poor and working classes form a very important class of the community; and that system which does not specially provide the means of promoting their instruction and salvation cannot be of God. The blessed Author of christianity held it out to the world as a proof of his divine mission, that ‘to the poor the gospel was preached.’ As might have been expected too, it is chiefly among this interesting class that the value of the gospel is duly appreciated, its divine testimony received, its sanctifying influence exemplified, and its blessed hopes cherished. ‘Hearken, my beloved brethren,’ said an apostle of Christ, ‘hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?’ Is it then

for this description of the poor that further church-accommodation is sought? Assuredly not. All of *them* must, in some way, have obtained it already; and it is, indeed, to this that their piety is in a great measure to be ascribed. Those among them (and they form the great majority) who belong to dissenting churches, willingly contribute according to their means,—for the support of the gospel: and when they have no means, as appears from the uniform testimony of the dissenting ministers recorded in the Reports of the Royal Commissioners,—accommodation in their respective places of worship is gratuitously and most cheerfully furnished to them.’

But, surely, churchmen will not allow, that they are behind Dissenters in this respect. For, although, by their petitions in support of the corn-laws, to please the landlords and to augment their own stipends, they have rendered it very difficult for the poor to obtain bread for their bodies; unquestionably they will have taken care that the pious poor should have the means of obtaining the bread necessary for nourishing their souls to eternal life. But whatever they say to this, we are quite sure that, generally speaking, none will be found in Scotland, hungering for this bread, without the means of having it readily, and when necessary gratuitously, supplied.

We shall be told, however, that in many cases, it is necessary to create a spiritual appetite, where it is obviously and lamentably wanting, and that, indeed, this is the principal object which they have it in view to attain by the great, and till very lately the unheard of exertions, which they have seen it their duty to make. They are not the pious poor, but those sunk in ignorance and wickedness, forming such immense living masses of ‘unexcavated heathenism,’ who are now the great and almost the only objects of their new-born zeal and fervent charity. Would that they discovered any such anxiety about the salvation of the careless, the profane, and the perishing among the rich, with many of whom they meet much more frequently elsewhere than in the church! But while it were offensive to ‘ears polite,’ to rank them in any way among heathens, and while it would be very rude not to give them their own way as to attending on the ministrations of the gospel, whether they have an appetite for the spiritual provision it presents to them or not, there must be peculiar compassion shown to the poor, whose spiritual exigencies are known and acknowledged by all but themselves. And we are seriously told, that the only specific for their mortal disease is to build a great number of churches, so as to contain them all, that thus they may be healed and saved. But can it be necessary, with professions of equal seriousness, to attempt any refutation of a notion so obviously visionary, and so utterly absurd? It has already been proved by documentary evidence, that there is

abundance of room both in established and dissenting places of worship which these poor 'unexcavated heathens' refuse to occupy. It has also been established by the Reports of the Royal Commissioners, that while there are very many seats to be let at so low a rate as two shillings per year, those which are lowest priced are uniformly least in request. Will making more room for them act as a charm in curing the evil? It has been truly observed, that to suppose that the mere building and endowing of churches will insure the attendance of the great body of the ignorant, the careless, and the wicked among the poor, or nearly the entire adult population of any class, is one of the wildest notions that ever entered the minds of any calling themselves Christian men, while it is certainly at variance with the uniform experience and observation of all called Christian ministers.

We must not forget just to notice yet another pretence, by which the Church Extensionists urge the adoption of their scheme, foolish, in other respects, as we have seen it to be—it is, that thus there may be ensured to all the great benefit of 'pastoral superintendence.' It required, we should think, a greater share of unblushing hardihood than is common, to bring forward this as a reason for requiring more endowed ministers. It must truly have been a *dernier* resort. That there is a great, and all but universal want of 'pastoral superintendence' in the parishes committed to the care of the existing established clergymen in Scotland, is quite notorious. It was originally proposed that the inquiries of the Royal Commissioners should embrace this point. What a pity that it was not persisted in! But the *pastors* were well nigh 'frightened from their propriety' at the very mention of such a thing. As a friend of ours happily expressed it, 'the mere idea of having the question put, How often do you visit your parishes? seems to have thrown whole synods into tribulation, and is said, in some quarters, to have awakened a stir in the matter of pastoral superintendence which had scarcely been heard of before.' And yet these men have the intolerable presumption to demand, that the country should pay others for doing what, however well paid, they have uniformly neglected to do themselves! Will endowments, drawn from the Treasury, ensure, what endowments, drawn from the Teinds, has so long and so disgracefully failed to accomplish? Pastoral superintendence! Most people belonging to the Established churches would be inclined to ask, what it could mean; and all would ask, on what conceivable principle they were to expect under the new system, what, under the old, was reckoned unnecessary or impracticable!

The last Report of the Royal Commissioners is confined entirely to the subject of *teinds*, or tithes; and the conclusion from

it is, that even if more places of worship were wanted, and allowing the propriety of endowing them at the public expense, there are ample funds for the purpose, which, according to the existing law of the land, belong to the church herself, but which the heritors, or land-holders, were authorized to retain until her necessities should require them to be forthcoming. As the state of matters in this respect is in Scotland very different from the plan of supporting the Established church among ourselves, it may be necessary, for the sake of many of our readers, to give the following brief explanations from the luminous and admirable Report of the Royal Commissioners on the subject.

‘Originally the property of the church consisted of lands which had been gifted or devised to it from time to time, and of teinds; the former being denominated the Temporality, and the latter the Spirituality of Benefices. The greater part of the Temporalities, consisting partly of lands and partly of the feu-duties of lands which had been feued out by bishops, parsons, and others, both prior and subsequent to the Reformation, are now in the possession, either of the crown, or of private proprietors, who, from time to time, obtained grants from the crown, or feus from the church.’ ‘Thus all lands in Scotland, with the exception of those held *cum decimis inclusis, et nunquam untea separatis*, are liable in payment of teinds; the heritable, or real rights to which, are now vested in the crown, in colleges, in pious foundations, in lay titulars, and in heritors. The teinds are held under the burden of payment of such stipends to the parish ministers, as have been, or may hereafter be, modified or awarded out of them.’ ‘While all teinds are subject to this general liability for stipend, they are localised on, or appropriated to this purpose, not equally, but according to a certain order. Originally the titular was entitled to allocate the stipend on the different teinds in the parish at his pleasure. The exercise of this power without restraint was liable to abuse; and certain rules were therefore gradually introduced, by which it was considerably restrained.’ ‘At length the matter was put upon its present footing by the Act of Parliament, 1707, c. 9, whereby the Court of Session was constituted a Commission or Court of Teinds, with all the powers of the previous Commissions, but under this important qualification, that parishes might not be disjoined or divided, except with the consent of three-fourths of the heritors, reckoning not by the number of the heritors, but by the amount of their valued rent within the parish. The exercise of the power of union and disjunction, it is evident, may materially affect the amount of payment made to the church out of the Teinds. By the union of parishes, the amount may be diminished, while by the disjunction, the number of Ministers being increased, the amount paid must, in almost all cases, be increased also. *There are very few instances of such disjunctions having been made since the date of this Act, although previous to it they had frequently occurred.*’ ‘It appears (from the tables annexed to the Report) that the value of the gross unappropriated teinds belonging to the crown is £15,741.

12s. 5d. This sum of unappropriated teinds, however, is at present subject to certain deductions, yet leaving a free surplus of £10,182. 4s. 8d. But owing to the system of management in regard to leases of teinds belonging to the crown, the sum annually realized by the crown has been very much less than this surplus. It also appears, that the annual value of the gross parsonage or greater teinds belonging to other persons than the crown is £281,384. 14s. ; that the value of those at present appropriated to ministers' stipend is £146,942. 16s. 9d. ; and that the value of the gross unappropriated teinds belonging to other persons than the crown, is £138,186. 17s. 6d.—Third Report, pp. 1, 4, 5, 10.

Were it really proved, then, that more churches are wanted in Scotland, and were it divinely authorized and politically right to endow churches from any public fund, it is here proved beyond all controversy, that the most ample means, originally set apart, and still held in trust for such a purpose can easily be obtained, without having recourse to a Parliamentary grant of any kind. We maintain, indeed, in common with all Dissenters, and even with the Earl of Aberdeen, and other of their Conservative opponents, that what are called 'Bishops' teinds,' cannot thus be employed,—and indeed that the very proposal to appropriate them to such a purpose is a most glaring and miserable attempt to hoodwink the public, as if this were something very different from drawing at once on the consolidated fund. The 'Bishops' teinds' were long ago taken from the Church and given to the Crown; and more recently they were relinquished by the Crown to the public, for which the most ample compensation has been made by a corresponding addition to the Civil List. But, from what are called the 'unexhausted teinds,' belonging to others than the Crown, funds might be realized very nearly sufficient to endow as many additional Churches as there are old ones already existing in Scotland.

It is the more important to notice this, as the Ministerial scheme, so far as it has been developed, is, to take from this fund what is necessary for endowing the New Churches wanted, at least in those parishes where 'unexhausted teinds' are found to exist. This, indeed, upon their own principles, recognizing the necessity of having an endowed Establishment in what is called a Christian land, of which they profess to be the Christian Legislators—is really the wisest and the best course which they could have adopted. One evidence of this is, that the very mention of it instantly roused the wrath, and called forth the vituperations of the interested Grandees, who had so loudly clamoured for Church extension, so long as they hoped it might annihilate dissent, but without ever dreaming, that the expense was to be provided for out of their own pockets. This was anticipated, and indeed the certainty that the Ministerial measure now proposed,

must as a matter of course, be gone into, was distinctly suggested by some of the Scottish Dissenters, from the moment that the appointment of the Commission to inquire and report on the subject of the teinds, was announced.

But, though the Church extensionists are so importunate in their demands for additional endowments from the public treasury;—they are now enraged above measure at the proposal to draw such endowments from the source to which we allude. This is easily accounted for. Not only is it the proposal of a Government which they detest, and have so zealously exerted themselves to destroy, but it would give a triumph of a certain kind to the Dissenters whom they also ‘hate with perfect hatred’—besides that it would require large disbursements from the most powerful of their Tory friends, and would for ever prevent the increase of their own stipends.

We have not a doubt that their ardent zeal for the spiritual welfare of ‘the poor and working classes,’ will, at length, be completely cooled by these carnal considerations; and that sooner than behold such consequences realized,—which would after all be but the native results of their own unspeakable folly,—they would be content to see all their new churches razed to the ground, and, of course, never even to breathe a wish to have other new erections for the accommodation of any ‘unexcavated heathens,’ whether perishing in ‘our city lands, or enormous upland ‘parishes.’

But they must, in the mean time, be reminded that the very principle on which the ministry propose to proceed, which, with whatever disgraceful inconsistency, they now join their parliamentary friends in denouncing as spoliation, was once, when they never dreamed either of the nature or extent of the perplexity and danger in which it would involve them, most solemnly, and with singular cordiality, recognized by themselves as being in accordance alike with the demands of equal justice, and the statutes of national law. In the General Assembly which met in May, 1820, the Rev. Mr. Fleming, of Neilston—a man, we may observe in passing, who, had his lot been cast south of the Tweed, would assuredly have been employed as a writer of Oxford Tracts; supported a motion, ‘*anent* Church accommodation,’ which led him, in what Dr. Thompson characterised as ‘a very excellent speech,’ to throw out the following sentiments; and they were hailed no less by ‘the highflyers,’ than by the men fierce for moderation: he proved ‘that a national fund was provided; that the heritors were only the trustees of that fund; ‘that it was not their own; that it was destined for the support of ‘religion, and could not be diverted from it, and that this fund was ‘provided to give the great and the noble of the land church-accommodation *gratis* as much as the poorest, and that, however,

‘paradoxical it may appear, it was nevertheless true, that no man in Scotland paid one farthing for the support of religion: that the landholders received the tithes of their lands, on the implied and express condition of maintaining the established religion; and, that what was called a burden on their lands, was, in fact, no burden, for *no* man in this country, when he purchased an estate, paid for the public burdens, but had these deducted to him; and that the fifth of the rental was as much by law the patrimony of the church, as the remainder was that of the proprietors. The country,’ said the reverend gentleman, ‘paid and supported the clergy, for the very purpose of giving to the people the administration of the word and the sacraments; and yet, this end was defeated in not a few parishes, by the avarice of heritors not affording that legal church-accommodation which was necessary for the clergy to be useful and beneficial to the country. This he considered a scandal on the church, as a church, and injurious to the interests of the state, for the promotion of which, it is at the expense of maintaining a clergy. He stated, that the activity of the human mind was such, that if it did not find mental food in one place, it would seek for it in another; and that in this way, some part of the parishioners who could not find seats, and were not religiously inclined, might be driven to the new school of democracy, infidelity, and sedition!’ &c. ‘The reverend gentleman,’ adds *the Christian Instructor*,* ‘sat down amidst applause from both sides of the house.’

Here then are precisely the same principles pleaded for and sanctioned by all in the General Assembly, the mere mention of which as proposed to be brought into operation, caused such bursts of indignant feeling among the friends of the church in parliament, and has led ever since to the pitiable cuckoo cry of ‘spoliation!’ among Tory *lairds* and bigotted clergymen throughout the country. But it is evident, from what passed in the meeting just referred to, that the General Assembly cannot sympathize in all this, without throwing consistency to the winds, and even stultifying themselves in the most shameful manner ever known. It may, indeed, be alleged, that the foolish man, who made the speech from which we have quoted, had nothing farther in view than to reprobate the conduct of his own heritors, who had refused to give the enlarged accommodation, which he represented as being at that time necessary in *his* parish; and that eighteen years ago, the assembly which responded so complacently to his sentiments, had not then the slightest conception of church-accommodation being wanted to such an extent as has since been seen to be indispensable. But still the principle was

* Vol. XIX, pp. 363, 364.

sanctioned by them, as being both founded in equity and fixed by law; and, therefore, they, of all men, ought not to blame ministers for determining to follow it out. We earnestly beseech Dissenters both in England and Scotland, with all their might, to hold ministers to the determination, that, if the church is to get additional endowments at all, it shall be only from the funds which she calls her own. The proposal will, no doubt, be rejected with scorn. Tory landlords and Tory clergymen, loudly as they have bewailed the religious destitution of the land will be indignant, when it is proposed to supply that destitution at their expense. But so much the better: it will prevent endowments altogether, and cover with merited infamy the promoters of a scheme which has, we trust, been proved to the satisfaction of our readers, to be nothing else than a gross imposition.

Art. VIII. 1, *Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System*. By a Proprietor. London: Andrews, 167, New Bond-street. 1838.

2. *A Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies*.

3. *A Bill intituled an Act for putting an end to the Apprenticeship of those who were formerly Slaves in the British Colonies*. Presented by Lord Brougham and Vaux.

THE anti-slavery question has again reached a crisis. Every thing now depends, under God, upon the firmness and consistency with which those who conduct the present great effort maintain their principles and press their claims. All is within their reach. We cannot look abroad over the face of the country, and interrogate the countenances of men, without feeling a deep conviction of the irresistible moral strength of the anti-slavery party. There must, however, be no wavering; no compromise; no political expediency. Two bills are before the public. The one a cheat, a mockery, an unjust and impracticable measure. The other, a bill, for abolishing the apprenticeship on the 1st of August next. The former, must be rejected; the latter, supported and *carried*.

We have in former numbers condemned in unequivocal terms the policy of ministers upon the anti-slavery question, and recent events have afforded us no opportunity of changing the tone of our remarks. We are still constrained to censure, to condemn. They have not, in our opinion, discharged the sacred duties confided to them by the imperial act of abolition. The country has just ground of complaint against them; and, though, it might be difficult for the mere politician to bring himself to vote the administration guilty of culpable and criminal neglect, their delin-

quencies will not be the less obvious to those who have for years regarded the emancipation of the slaves as a religious object, and surrendered twenty millions of their money to appease the cravings of the tormentors of the species.

Without repeating our condemnation of the abolition act, let us inquire, what the country had a right to expect from the government charged with the execution of its provisions? The country had a right to expect the following things:—The reservation of the compensatory millions till the negro was free, or, at least, till laws *really* and not professedly adequate to the carrying out of the provisions of the imperial act were passed. The rigid examination of all colonial enactments, and the prompt and decisive rejection of such as were repugnant to the spirit of the English act. The judicious selection of men to fill the all-important stations of special justices, with such provisions and protections for them in the colonies, as would give them a chance of being able to do their duty. In the event of the death, removal, or dismissal of any special justice, the appointment of a man, in all respects, qualified to fill the vacancy. That in the event of a discovery of any gross abuse, the colonial secretary would go to the verge of his authority to correct it; and if then unable, come down to parliament for additional powers, or propose a bill to accomplish the object. That while well paid commissioners were sitting, to award millions of British money to a slave-holding oligarchy, men would be set apart to watch the progress of an experiment involving the freedom and happiness of the 800,000 negroes for whose special benefit the great measure of abolition had been passed. The scrupulous enforcement of the provisions of the imperial act, respecting registration and classification. The prevention of fraud and oppression in the appraisement of the unexpired term of the negro's apprenticeship. The interpretation according to its spirit and design of those portions of the imperial act, which refer to food, time, labour, and indulgencies. That the horrid rites of the treadmill; the flogging of women; the cutting off of their hair; and the foul practices of hospitals, would be put down as soon as known. That due care would be taken of the young, the aged, the infirm and the diseased; and, finally, that such steps should be taken as would have secured to the negroes during their apprenticeship the benefit of that preparatory education, the necessity of which was so loudly insisted on by the advocates of a transition state.

Have these just expectations been realized? We answer, without hesitation, 'No.' The twenty millions were distributed while the eyes of the Government were wide open to the most direct and flagitious violations of the spirit and letter of the imperial act. In the case of Mauritius two millions of money were paid as compensation, when the fact was fully known to the government, that

tens of thousands of the negroes in that island had been feloniously imported, were illegally held in bondage, and were entitled to unconditional freedom under the Slave Registration and the Consolidated Slave Trade Acts. To this hour, the negroes of Mauritius are deprived of the liberty to which they are entitled upon every principle of law and equity. With reference to the colonies at large, laws were declared 'adequate and satisfactory,' which placed the apprentice in a condition, in many respects, worse than his former state of slavery. The analysis of the laws of Jamaica before the Select Parliamentary Committee, the laws of the other chartered colonies, and the regulation of the Crown Colonies, abundantly demonstrate this. The selection of special justices, seems to have been regulated by a desire, that they should become the companions and servile tools of the masters, rather than the guardians of the rights of the apprentices. Half pay officers, inured to flogging, and accustomed to enforce the sternest discipline, were, in the first instance, sent out in large numbers; and as these died off, or quitted their new service in disgust, the governors were permitted to fill their places with plantation managers, mercantile clerks, discharged wharfingers, and men of notoriously depraved habits. Such are the men who under the imperial act have been vested with almost despotic power to coerce the negroes of the colonies. So far from the prompt correction of abuses, we find the colonial secretary speaking of the eight hours' system, by which the negro is robbed of the time necessary to grow his provisions as an '*inconvenience*,' in which it was '*more wise*' to '*acquiesce silently*,' than run the risk of widening the breach between the planters and the colonial office: and we have the written declaration of the Marquis of Sligo, that in 1836, he sent home, in one dispatch, a statement of thirty cases of the flogging of females, and that no attention was paid to his representations by the colonial office. If the efforts of the governor of Jamaica, to awaken the concern of the officers of the crown in this country, were thus unavailing, we need not feel surprised at the indifference with which the untitled and unofficial friends of the negro have been treated in Downing-street. The proofs are at hand to show, that, while the paid agents of the planters have found ready and courteous audience of the colonial minister, and have even been caressed and loaded with assurances of confidence and friendship, the disinterested advocates of the negro have either been coldly entertained, or rudely repulsed. Appearances have justified the belief, that there has been a collusion between the colonial office and the West Indians, and that the feeling of the country in favour of emancipation, has been taken advantage of, to enrich the pockets, without diminishing the power of the slave-holders, and the abolitionist used as a cat's-paw to pick the pockets of a generous people.

Had the liberty of the negro been effected, we might have been contented to remain silent respecting the enormous sum of money transferred to the coffers of Planters, Proprietors, and Mortgagees; but, as the matter stands, justice to ourselves requires, that we state the object for which that money was voted, and that we claim the fulfilment, on the part of parliament, of that contract which has been so faithfully implemented by the people of this country. The money, then, was voted to purchase for ever from the planter, the right of oppressing his fellow-men, —to bestow upon the negro ‘all the rights and privileges of a freeman.’ It was paid that ‘on the 1st of August, 1834, ‘Slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished.’ We quote the language of Lord Stanley, and the words of the Imperial Act. The money was placed at the disposal of the government, for the object stated, and one of our grounds of complaint is, that instead of being used as a means to effect the end proposed, it has contributed to make the condition of the negro worse than it was before. We cannot but think, that had the money part of the business been wisely (we speak of worldly wisdom only, denying altogether the right of the master of slaves to compensation) managed either by the parliament or the government, the negro might have been placed in a condition the very opposite to that in which we now find him. But instead of requiring, in the first place, satisfactory proof of loss sustained; and, in the next place, the delivery in good condition of the thing purchased, the compensation was awarded without a shadow of loss being proved, and before the negro was free from the dominion of his master. It is difficult to account for the infatuation of Government in this matter. Though dealing with a class of men who, through many generations, had been over-reaching the British people, and taxing their pockets for the maintenance of an inhuman system, the trustees of the nation’s wealth paid down million after million, with an appearance of confidence seldom exhibited in pecuniary transactions with men of unimpeachable integrity. Instead of saying to the planters, ‘If you will not follow the example of Antigua, but determine to have the apprenticeship, be it so; but we will keep the compensation money as long as you keep the apprenticeship, and eventually award it only ‘for such of your negroes as are living proofs of a kind and merciful treatment;’ it was paid down with pitiful credulity and unseemly haste, before one tangible proof had been furnished of fulfilling even the conditions of the apprenticeship clause, and the wretched negro was left in the hands of his tyrant, to be worked, fettered, scourged, and polluted, through six long years of unrequited and involuntary service. Thus has the nation been deluded and defrauded. No part of the twenty millions has been given for the purposes of education and training—none to

provide for the innocent and helpless children—none to succour the lame, and sightless, and strengthless amongst the negro population. No; the men, who with reckless prodigality distributed twenty millions amongst the magnificent white paupers of the Colonies, provided not a teacher for the ignorant, not a nurse for the infant, not a hospital for the diseased—gave not a pound or penny to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, or rescue from starvation the fatherless or the widow. They passed by the poor, and gave to the rich. Our nation's treasure was given, not to make restitution to the plundered, but to compensate and gild the crimes of the plunderer.

If the language we have now used be deemed severe, we have only to refer to the work placed first at the head of this article, for the evidence of the justice of all that we have written.

We proceed to lay before our readers the testimony of one, who is every way entitled to credit and respect. We are not now about to incur the charge of retailing the stale calumnies of Aldermanbury, or the ravings of fanatical missionaries. We are about to review the evidence voluntarily given by an Ex-Governor of the island of Jamaica.

'Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System;' by a Proprietor, is the work of the Marquis of Sligo, and contains, as we are told in the introduction, 'the result of the experience acquired during 'a residence of some duration in that island.' His Lordship has arranged his facts and observations under the following heads, viz. Administration of Justice; Grand and Petit Juries; Gaols, Workhouses, &c.; Special Justices and their protection; Valuations; Hospital Abuses; Non-registration of Slaves; Opposition to Apprenticeship System by the House of Assembly; General Opposition to the New System; Working of the Apprenticeship System; Management of Estates.

We have met with no work on the system of Negro apprenticeship containing a more clear and temperate statement of facts, or furnishing more convincing evidence of the absolute necessity for abolishing the unnatural and cruel system called by that delusive name. We earnestly recommend it to the perusal of all who need an antidote to the sophistries and mis-statements of an insidious article in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to a gentleman filling a situation in the Colonial Office.

Several circumstances combine to invest the work before us with peculiar interest and importance. It is the production of a Nobleman and a Jamaica proprietor, who once filled the chair of the WEST INDIA ASSOCIATION, and who cannot therefore be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards that body. It is the work of one, who having been the Governor of Jamaica for four months prior to the 1st of August, 1834, and for eighteen months subsequently, enjoyed unequalled opportunities of testing the value and prac-

ticability of the system of apprenticeship ; and as a judicious and enlightened reformer of Colonial abuses, Lord Sligo ascertained to what extent it is possible to obtain the assistance of a Jamaica planting community, in originating and carrying on schemes of preparation for freedom. The work acquires additional value from the fact that, until very recently, its noble author was in favour of the continuance of the apprenticeship system under certain regulations.

The Marquis of Sligo commenced his administration of affairs upon the island of Jamaica, in the month of April, 1834.

‘ Considerable apprehension,’ he says, ‘ was felt at that time, respecting the probable conduct of the negroes on the eventful 1st of August ; a feeling, however, in which those who did not see how it could be the interest of the slaves to interfere with the progress of an enactment so manifestly for their benefit, did not participate.

‘ Anticipations of a general massacre of the whites were entertained by many alarmists ; and, among the great majority of the planters, a deep-seated, but indefinite fear prevailed extensively.’

The following passages are sufficient to refute a volume of the calumnies which have been heaped upon the heads of the negroes, and contain a volume of arguments in favour of their immediate and entire emancipation. It should not be forgotten that the negroes entertained the belief that the 1st of August would introduce them to a condition of *freedom*—with those limitations only, which had been pointed out to them. Their joy, therefore, is to be estimated not by their subsequent actual sufferings, but by their previous high anticipations.

‘ The memorable 1st of August at length arrived, and instead of being marked by the flowing of blood, insurrection, and disturbance, as anticipated, it was celebrated and made memorable, by the most extraordinary, nay, the almost universal, attendance of the negroes at the different places of worship. The chapels of which are of considerable size, were opened for Divine Service five or six times during the day, and were each time crowded, to an inconvenience in such a climate, by a succession of negroes, till all present had been enabled to offer up their expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Being for their newly acquired privileges. It is said, and generally believed, that *not a single drunken man appeared during the whole of that day in the streets of any of the principal towns*. On the subsequent days, more particularly that on which they were to return to their work, no cause for complaint was given, excepting in one instance. In the parish of St. Anne’s alone, was there exhibited any disposition on the part of the negroes to secede from their usual labours.

‘ It is curious to remark, that such a spirit of insubordination should have occurred nowhere excepting in a parish in which the resident

gentry had shown themselves previously to be the most opposed to the British views in Lord Mulgrave's time, and in which the 'Colonial Union' may be said to have originated.

'The terrors of the planters as to the conduct of the negroes having thus subsided, they postponed the period of their anticipated alarms till the Christmas holidays; but it appeared that in this respect they were again mistaken. The anniversary of the 1st of August was next fixed upon as the time of danger; subsequent events have shown how completely deceived in their calculations were these gentlemen, who silenced all who differed in opinion with them by saying, 'We, who have been so long in the island, must know its state better than you, who have so lately reached it;—you don't know the character of the negroes.''

Under the head of 'Administration of Justice,' Lord Sligo has laid bare the imperfections and iniquities of the existing system of jurisprudence, and demonstrated the necessity of a thorough change in the constitution of the local courts. He strikingly illustrates the gross partiality of the laws, and observes that where the laws profess to be equal in their application,

'The spirit in which they are administered in Jamaica gives them a totally different character:—the truth is, that there are no sympathies between the two classes—the magistrates, and those on whose conduct they have to adjudicate: and that, without imputing any corrupt motives to the one, the result is most unfavourable to the other.'

In proof of the truth of this assertion, he puts on record the following fact.

'In the act to establish regulations for the government of gaols and houses of correction, an especial clause was inserted to prevent the apprentice being exempted from the operation of any part of that law which equally affected all free people. No objection was taken to this clause when the bill was enacted, as nothing could be fairer on principle, or more beneficial in practice, if impartially administered. But how has it worked? Whether from no white or free people having committed any offence since it was passed, or from this generally received opinion, of which I especially complain, that it could not have been intended for them—not one person of that class has been placed on the treadmill, or in the penal gang, with the exception of policemen under sentence of a court-martial, or those sent there by the judge of assize. None have been committed by the local magistracy. This being the effect, it is a matter of utter indifference whether the cause be corruption, ignorance, or prejudice; the effect ought not to be permitted to exist; and it is for this very reason that it becomes so desirable that no additional power should be given to the magistrates, either individually or in a court of quarter-session assembled, until that body shall have been found to consist of persons brought up under a different system.'

On the subject of the Grand and Petit Juries we find the following remark.

‘Without accusing the gentry, who generally form those bodies, of any intentional opposition to the law, there is no doubt that if any individual, professing opinions not in unison with their own, goes into a court of justice for relief, the chances against his success would greatly preponderate. In this belief, there are few of the gentlemen of the island who do not participate; but there is not one who would not *anticipate with certainty* a verdict, even in a doubtful case, in favour of those whose political sentiments coincided with their own.’

The following cases show the extent to which party-feeling and prejudice against the coloured population prevail in Jamaica.

‘In the case of the indictment of the magistrates and supervisor of the workhouse of St. John’s, (for a series of the grossest cruelties committed upon male and female apprentices,) it was proved that the grand jury of Middlesex threw out the bills without examining all the witnesses who were tendered to them for the prosecution; they might have been justified in finding the bills on the evidence of *one* witness; but surely they ought by no means to have ignored them without a close examination of *every* witness who could possibly have proved the facts alleged. It is somewhat singular, that money to any amount would have been wagered, on the day of the opening of the Supreme Court, that these bills would not be found; but there was so little difference of opinion on that point, that not a single bet was actually taken up.

‘Phillips, the driver of St. Andrew’s workhouse, was tried and found guilty of flogging a woman, Jane Henry, because she would not submit to his desires; it was then proved that this species of debauchery and punishment of females was of frequent occurrence. Yet the supervisor, who ought to have known the fact,—*who must have known of it*,—was kept in his office, as before, *and the custos even persuaded the parish to pay the expenses of his defence*. It might naturally have been supposed that the man would have been dismissed at once; and he would have been so, had not the custos and magistrates approved of his conduct.’

Speaking of the liabilities of the apprentices, Lord Sligo remarks:—

‘An overseer, a book-keeper, a policeman, an estate constable, or even any idler riding out for amusement, sees a black man walking along the road with a bundle, or, what is most frequent, a basket of provisions on his head;—he stops him, questions him—and if the man does not give an explanation *satisfactory* to the inquirer,—if the negro does not succeed in giving *what he considers* to be sufficient explanation,—he takes him up, *for which he is entitled to a certain premium*, and brings him generally before the nearest *local* magistrate for examination; and in order to get the reward to which he is entitled for apprehending

a runaway, urges the man's committal to the workhouse. The man, generally, has not the means at hand of proving to the magistrate who and what he is ; and that officer, naturally not wishing to let a runaway escape, commits him on suspicion. As soon as he reaches the workhouse, *he is at once chained to some other fellow-prisoner* by a collar round his neck, and he is *sent out, in the penal, or chain gang*, to clean the streets of the town, or do any other work, in which the parish penal gang happens to be employed. He is then, as the law directs, advertised for four successive weeks in the Colonial papers, for the purpose of being claimed ; and, during all that time, works for the benefit of the parish, and perhaps at the end turns out to be a free person. In that case, he has undergone an unjust and severe punishment.'

Under the head of 'Gaols, Workhouses, &c.,' we are brought acquainted with scenes of the most revolting character. The whole West India system seems to have been invented for the purpose of torturing and polluting the black population. It is difficult to imagine what would be the state of things in Jamaica, were the whites permitted for a few years only to pursue unchecked their process of contamination.

'Young girls, of premature age, and probably of excellent character, sent in on suspicion, or for some trifling indolence, or for turning out late to work, are seen working in chains in these penal gangs, cleaning the streets. Thus any germ of modesty they might possess is destroyed. One of these girls is probably chained to a thief, or woman of infamous character ; if she has been heretofore pure in her conduct, the chances are strongly in favour of her being corrupted by the vices of her companions. Once seen amongst the criminals in the streets, disgrace attaches to her name, though she has really been guilty of no offence, except one of the most trifling nature, proceeding from the carelessness of youth ; and yet, for this cause, she is made to associate with all the vilest criminals of the chain gang. The strongest representations were made by the Governor to the different Custodes, informing them that he had been directed by the Secretary for the Colonies to call their attention to this circumstance, in the hope that they would except young females, of the above description, from this disgraceful punishment ; but it has never been asserted, that, in a single instance, the practice was in consequence abandoned.'

'The custom of cutting off the hair of all female apprentices, has been lately adopted in these establishments, on the plea of health and cleanliness. During the time of slavery, when it was more the interest of the proprietor to take care of these people, than it is at present, it never was done ; this, therefore, cannot be looked upon in any other light than as a contrivance to make up for the other annoyances, which, owing to the Abolition Law, it is no longer in their power to inflict on their apprentices. It is well known, that the hair of the negro is a close woolly oily substance, in no way resembling the hair of a white person. Cutting it off is a serious injury, as it deprives the brain of its natural protection under a tropical sun.'

‘We now come to the worst feature of the workhouse system,—the most palpable and barefaced violation of the Abolition law ; namely, *the flogging of females* within the walls of those establishments. The extent to which this was carried, and the number of cases which were discovered, and reported, by the Governor, in messages to the House of Assembly, were perfectly astonishing. No notice was, however, taken of them by that body, except appointing a committee to inquire into the truth of the statements. No remedy was even suggested. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that this abuse prevailed in every workhouse in Jamaica. *So large a proportion of the black population passes through these receptacles, that the moral effect of the process becomes an object of the highest importance.*’

Sickness in the West Indies is treated as a crime. The unfortunate creatures who are visited from God with painful and protracted diseases, instead of care and kindness, and the application of restoratives, and the privilege of repose and freedom from mental inquietude, are regarded as offenders of the worst class, and made to endure the added infliction of insult, imprisonment, separation from their relatives, and even coercion and starvation. We regret we have not room for the entire chapter under the head of ‘Hospital Abuses.’ The following extracts will however reveal scenes of atrocious cruelty which we cannot doubt will draw down upon the diabolical system of which they form a part, the destructive lightning of British indignation.

‘Into these generally small buildings, males and females, lunatics, aged people, and those with contagious diseases, are all huddled together. There is generally no second room, or any other conveniency, such as health or even decency requires, for the diurnal necessities of its inmates. These poor creatures all sleep on a guard bed, which extends along one side of the room, without any bed-clothes whatever, though the land breeze is piercingly cold at night, and the blacks are peculiarly sensitive to its effects. To add to the misery of the place, the doors are generally kept locked,—always said to be so by the doctor’s directions, in order to prevent its occupants from injuring their health by walking about. They are often kept thus locked up the whole of the twenty-four hours, with the exception of half an hour each morning and evening, when the doors are opened in order to allow the patients to receive from their friends their own provisions. There is much reason to fear that this species of confinement is frequently ordered, for the purpose of annoying and persecuting the poor unfortunate apprentices. The stocks are had recourse to, in addition, for the same purpose ; people with sore legs are often placed in them, in order, as alleged, to prevent them from walking ; when it must strike every person, that inflammation is much more likely to ensue, if the diseased limb is placed between thick boards, than if the individual were allowed to walk about the hospital room at his own discretion.

‘In the case of Parsons, the overseer on the estate of Mr. Richard Barrett, it was proved that a poor woman, whose death was the subject of examination, was found by the magistrate, who made the discovery, lying on a heap of filth, occasioned by her own illness, which had never been removed since she was placed in a perfectly helpless state in that bed; also, that *her own daughter had sat for hours at the door, imploring in vain for permission to be locked in with her mother, in order to attend and clean her ! ! !*’

‘On the exertions of Special Justices,’ remarks Lord Sligo, ‘*depends the whole success* of the apprenticeship system.’ Let us then see to what extent these ‘*exertions*’ are likely to be put forth, and with what chance of ‘success.’

‘During the two first years of the apprenticeship, more than twenty Special Justices fell victims to the climate and to their own exertions, and many more resigned, from finding that the emolument was not sufficient for their support; or sickened by the opposition they met with from the planters; or in consequence of their bodily strength being unequal to the severe labour imposed on them.’

The salary given to a Special Justice, is, in the opinion of Lord Sligo, quite ‘insufficient to meet his necessities.’ Instead of £300 a year, the sum at first allowed, or even £450, the present salary, ‘it ought not to be less than £700 a year.’ Owing to the expenses inevitable on first landing in the West Indies, he

‘Becomes embarrassed at the outset, and is obliged to pay a portion of his salary for the liquidation of his debt. If he has the misfortune, not uncommon, of losing one of his horses when on duty, he gets into difficulty still farther; and unless he has a private fortune, with which his expense as a Special Justice has nothing to do, he cannot long maintain his independence. The stipendiaries are compelled on this account, as well as in consequence of the scarcity of inns, to have recourse to the hospitality, so proverbial in Jamaica, of the planters, *and then it is difficult for him to do his duty honestly in a house where he has been received with kindness.*’

After describing the manner in which the magistrates are deprived of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their salaries, by the method adopted, of paying them through the Commissary, Lord Sligo adds:

‘In addition to these various hardships, the manner in which they are regarded by the planters is another very serious cause of annoyance. Unless a magistrate be a notorious partizan of the planter, nothing is too bad for him: whereas, for those who are what are called ‘Bushy Magistrates,’ that is, under the influence of the overseers, nothing is too good. Two magistrates have been dismissed, both of them accused of an improper administration of the Abolition Law: for both of these

a subscription was immediately and liberally entered into: to one a present of plate was made, and the other received the amount of the subscription in money.'

His lordship proceeds to detail, at considerable length, a number of cases of flagrant injustice in the part of planters towards the more honest and humane among the stipendiary magistracy, amounting together to undeniable proof of the perfect impotency of the latter body, in the prevention of fraud and cruelty upon the negroes. The only good they can accomplish, being of a negative kind, when they refuse to gratify the malice or cupidity of the master, by inflicting the lash upon the bodies of their victims, or sentencing them to extra labour for the profit of the estate. Our readers must be contented with one specimen of the malignant and combined resistance offered to those who seek to discharge the duties of their responsible office.

'Another instance of persecution of the Special Justices which it will be necessary particularly to advert to, happened to fall to the lot of Mr. Baynes. From the time that he took an active part in trying to punish those gross and cruel violations of the law, which took place in the workhouse of the parish of St John's, it was determined that all means of annoyance should be put in force against him. His wife had been recently confined. His persecutors commenced their operations with the wet-nurse, who was an apprentice. Though earning excellent wages in his service, much to the advantage of the probably absentee owner, who knew nothing of the affair, she was suddenly withdrawn from his house. He was, in a similar manner, deprived of the services of his other servants, who were all of the same class. Finally, he was, by a general concerted plan, *refused a residence in the parish*, and is now actually compelled in consequence to live at a much greater expense, at great inconvenience to himself, and with great injury to the negroes, at Spanish Town, some miles away from his district.'

We have before us 'copies or extracts of correspondence between Lord Glenelg and Lord Sligo relative to the above case; in which Lord Sligo speaks of it as 'a part of a *systematic* attempt 'to resist the authority of the special justices, which had been 'brought into full play in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.' In the same despatch he speaks of '*one continuous system of opposition* to the efforts of special justices.' In the same parliamentary paper, we find a formal 'presentment of the grand inquest of 'the county of Middlesex,' Jamaica, in which the conduct of Mr. Baynes is denounced as 'a general nuisance!' And yet, 'on 'the exertions of Special Justices, depends the *whole success* of 'the apprenticeship system!!' Before we dismiss that part of the subject which has reference to the obstructions multiplied in the way of all who undertake to redress the grievances of the appren-

tice, we must notice an extraordinary circumstance mentioned by Lord Sligo. It appears that nineteen apprentices belonging to a planter of the name of Giles, in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale,

‘Came unexpectedly in a body to Spanish Town, twenty-one miles from their master’s property, for the purpose of seeking protection against their master for several injuries received, and of having him bound over to keep the peace.’

They sought the advice of a humane solicitor in that town, of the name of Harvey.

‘Affidavits were immediately taken, which disclosed circumstances of a serious nature on the part of Mr. G., as well as matter for numerous actions against him for injuries to his people and their stock. All that the solicitor could do, was to allay their fears, and prevent future injury by binding their master in sureties of peace. In this an unavoidable delay of five days was incurred by the refusal of the judges to interfere. A new commission to a magistrate was issued; whereupon the oaths were administered Mr. G. was ultimately bound over, and the people returned to their work.’

‘By way of retaliation for this interference, proceedings against Mr. Harvey ‘for harbouring’ were issued before four local magistrates of the parish of St. Catherine, and he was fined 199*l.* 10*s.*’

His lordship’s description of the Jamaica House of Assembly is highly instructive.

‘The House of Assembly consists for the most part of men who have passed their lives surrounded by slavery, and have accumulated, under its influence, large fortunes from small beginnings.

‘Let the whole of the proceedings of the Assembly, since the 1st of August, 1834, be closely examined, and it will be seen, that in no one instance has that body passed an act in furtherance of the measure of abolition, until *compelled*.

‘The assembly refused to contribute, by any local enactment, to prevent *the flogging of females* in the workhouses, and the cutting off their hair for purposes of annoyance. They, also, refused to pass the renewal of the first act in aid, in the original form, until their contumacy was punished by that law being passed in the imperial parliament.’

The following extract will show the amount of credit to be attached to the representations sent from the Assembly of Jamaica to this country.

‘The incautiousness of the people of Jamaica, in hazarding the most hardy assertions, and thinking that they will be received as proof, has

been remarked before. Instances of the gross mistakes they have thereby made have been given. What, however, must the House of Assembly think of that passage in their statement to Lord Glenelg, (Evidence, pages 302 and 303) wherein they say, '*That the House repudiates in the strongest terms they can find, the accusation, that whipping of females is practised in Jamaica?*' How can they reconcile that part of their representation with the Report of Mr. Buxton's Committee, wherein it is specifically stated, that many instances of this practice had been discovered by Lord Sligo? * They admitted its occurrence in only two instances, though *proofs on oath, of more than forty, had been transmitted home by his lordship to Lord Glenelg, and COPIES SENT TO THEM.* It would seem, as if they had, by a kind of voluntary self-delusion, persuaded themselves of the truth of their own assertions, and therefore refused to apply any remedy. At all events, *no remedy was applied.*

'Instead of the good opinion of the negroes having been conciliated, and their dislike of their masters, whom they look on as oppressors, having been diminished, a feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force daily.'

Lord Sligo, in his concluding remarks, states the following objection to the immediate abolition of the present system in Jamaica. We notice it, because we have heard it frequently urged by others. Lord Sligo, we are happy to know, has abandoned it.

'The anti-slavery party, who find that the law has been much abused, and that the humane intentions of the original promoters of this most benevolent measure have been defeated, cry out loudly for an immediate abolition of the apprenticeship. But it appears doubtful, if such a measure would in the end be advantageous to the negro. The success of immediate and total abolition in Antigua, has been quoted as an argument in its favour; but the cases are not parallel. Jamaica has thousands of acres of waste and unclaimed land, and every acre which is not actually kept in tillage, is soon covered with bush impenetrable to all except the negroes. Into these places, where food can be procured at the least possible expenditure of labour; where, as has been proved before the House of Lords, a man can provide a year's food for a reasonable family by twelve days' labour at his plantain ground,—where from the heat of climate no more clothes are necessary than what are required by decency—where the quantity of unclaimed wood, and of the thatch palm, enables the negro to erect a comfortable hut in a few hours,—into these places will he probably retire, and there lazily pass his life, never issuing from his recess until the want of some luxuries may lead him to bring produce to market, or, perhaps if the market is overstocked, may induce him to labour for a few hours.

* One instance has recently occurred in Spanish Town, and two in the workhouse of the parish of St. David.

Under these circumstances no continued labour is to be expected from him. How is the case in Antigua? It is a small island, every acre of which is well known; in which it is said that there exists not a single spring of fresh water, and where the provisions are all imported; where there is no resource but work, with the produce of which the negro goes to market and purchases his daily bread. There the immediate emancipation was a wise measure; but in Jamaica more time is required to prepare the minds of the negroes for freedom.'

Let us see what this argument is worth. In the first place, not a tittle of proof is offered that the negroes, if set free from apprenticeship, would betake themselves to the 'waste and unclaimed lands of Jamaica.' The fact is assumed without the slightest warrant. Secondly, it is not unreasonable to believe that, if they do not run away from apprenticeship, with its mockery of their hopes—its unpaid labour—its treadmills, and its thousand other horrors, they would not run away from liberty, with its wages, and privileges, and thousand blessings. Thirdly, if there be already a disposition to flee to the woods, to secure exemption from labour and oppression, and they are only restrained by the vigilance of their task masters, and the terrors of the law, that disposition is likely to be fostered and strengthened by the continuance and multiplication of their wrongs through two additional years. Fourthly, the argument, if it proves any thing, proves a great deal too much. If they would run away now, they would run away equally in 1840; and it will be necessary, therefore, to prepare to hedge them about by some new system of vassalage and vagrant laws, to prevent in 1840 what is dreaded in 1838. But admitting the force of the objection, we would ask if the negro is to be kept under a system so rigorous and inhuman as that which we have been contemplating, for no other reason than to secure to his tormentor the benefit of his uncompensated labour? Shall the man, from whose fierceness and fraud the negro waits the opportunity to flee, turn round upon us and say, 'You shall not redeem your pledge to the negro; you shall not have the thing you have paid for; you shall not vindicate the honour and sacredness of British law; you shall not stay the march of avarice, and lust, and murder; because I am likely to be inconvenienced?' If there be ought of mercy in British bosoms, or any self-respect remaining with those who have paid twenty millions of money, we shall no longer be prevented from fulfilling the claims of man, and obeying the laws of God, by being told that 'the interests of the planters' demand the continuance of the system. Rather let the cane-piece cease to bloom, and the verdure of the cotton-tree perish, and our country cease its commerce with the western isles, than that we should grind the faces of the poor, and practise daily a system of

gigantic robbery, and invoke the judgments of Him who hath said, 'Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord!'

If we would nurture the population of the Antilles into free, happy, and loyal communities, we must adopt another and a better system. They must not be kept as nurseries for young noblemen, or to furnish graves for our brave soldiers, or markets for slaves, or even as countries governed for the special benefit of merchants and planters to emigrate to, and after growing suddenly rich to return from, leaving the active and permanent inhabitants stationary in wealth, civilization, and political importance. We must ally them by affection and respect; by extending to them equal rights, and the protection of British law righteously administered. We must win them, and keep them, and regenerate them by acts of benevolence and piety; or we shall not be long without examples of discontent and rebellion, and successful resistance to our authority; nor will it be one colony alone that we shall lose. The lesson practised in one province will not be thrown away upon others; and we may be doomed to pay the forfeit of our richest and loveliest dependencies to a heartless and cruel policy.

But we are told, 'In Jamaica *more time is required* to prepare 'the minds of the negroes for freedom.' We turn to Lord Sligo's book, and we ask if that system can prepare the negroes for freedom, which is fraught only with the seeds of demoralization and death? Whether that is a state of preparation, in which 'the feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force 'daily;'—in which the negro is doomed to hear himself 'cursed, 'and called 'a damned black rascal, on all occasions;'—in which 'all sense of morality and decency is outraged in the persons of 'his wife and daughters;'—in which there is a systematic 'endeavour to diminish the natural and legitimate influence of those 'excellent men the missionaries;'—in which honest and virtuous men and women are sent to places of confinement and labour, where 'scenes of debauchery are of frequent occurrence;'—in which 'so large a portion of the black population pass through 'those loathsome receptacles of crime and cruelty, the gaols and 'workhouses, that the *moral effect* becomes of the highest importance;'—in which daughters implore in vain permission to discharge the claims of filial affection towards diseased and dying mothers;—in which 'young girls of premature age are, on *suspicion of indolence*, chained to thieves and prostitutes,' to the destruction 'of any germ of modesty they may possess.' But we forbear. The interests of humanity and religion, not less than the dictates of justice, demand the extirpation of a system which has for four years legalized, under the name of *apprenticeship*, the abominations which were once execrated under the true name of *slavery*.

We commend Lord Sligo's pamphlet to the serious examination of all who seek for authentic information on the momentous question which agitates the country, and proceed to notice, very briefly, the Bill of the Colonial Secretary now before the House of Lords. It is not with that bill as a *theory* that we have to do, but as a practical measure, intended for a certain latitude, and for certain parties. In estimating its worth, we must be guided by the experience of the past, and our knowledge of the present character and capabilities of those to whom it is proposed to confide it. It is intended, like many previous measures, to benefit the negro. It is a bill to *amend* the abolition act of 1833—to secure to the apprenticed population of the colonies the liberty, exemptions, allowances, privileges, indulgences, and protection to which they are entitled under the Imperial Act. Where is the proof that the present bill will share a better fate than its predecessors! Is it likely to prove more acceptable to the irritable and contumacious despots of the colonies than former bills? Are its features so bland and captivating, that it is certain to find ready access to the confidence and co-operation of those, who have treated every former measure with insult, opposition, and defiance? Does not the bill itself involve the heaviest charges of criminality and incapacity, against the planters, and against official functionaries? Is it more likely to give satisfaction than the resolutions of Mr. Canning, or the act it seeks to amend, which was recommended to their favourable consideration by twenty millions of money? But we may be told, that the planters are not to be consulted—that the bill will depend for its efficiency, not upon the disposition of the masters and overseers, but upon the wisdom, firmness, and strict impartiality of the governors, and the vigilance, integrity, and independence of the Special Magistrates. Admirable safeguards of the rights and liberties of 800,000 British subjects! The Governors of West India Colonies, with some honourable exceptions, have felt compelled to compound for peace and popularity, by yielding to the wishes of the community around them; and in those instances where governors have, with decision and true British feeling, sought to do their duty, they have been driven home defeated and disgusted. If we have no confidence in the ability of governors to carry into effect palliative measures, neither have we any hope that special justices will be competent to effect such an object. When we look at the general character of these men—at their previous professions, their almost necessary dependence upon the planters, their inevitable partiality, their habitual harshness, their general subserviency, at the constitution of their courts, and the obligation which their brief continuance in office imposes upon them to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, we tremble for the fate of those who have no better shield from persecution

and arbitrary power, than the pity and prerogative of the stipendiary justice.

What has been the experience of such of the Special Justices as have made an honest attempt to do their duty? They have been discouraged by the power of men in similar situations; they have looked in vain for the support of the executive; they have found a want of sympathy, and a still greater want of energy, in the Home Government; they have been covered with the slander of a polluted and venal press; they have been called to endure privation, proscription, and insult; the presentments of grand juries, threats of personal injury, expensive actions, removals, suspensions, and dismissals. Is there a better lot in reserve for those who shall undertake to carry the *amendment* act of Lord Glenelg into execution? No. An act of entire freedom would, we believe, be less obnoxious than the bill before Parliament. Should it even go out to the Colonies, the planters will either contrive to render it null and void, by regulations and laws of their own, or bear down by persecution, or win over by bribery, those who are entrusted with its execution. But granting to the magistrates, and umpires, and inspectors the power to save the negro from gross outrage and fraud, is it not obviously beyond the power of the most keen-sighted and upright amongst them, to save the negro from those daily insults and acts of petty injustice, which are amply sufficient to render their victim unutterably miserable? Will not the negro be constantly reminded, that he is still the slave of the vile passions of a man from whose potent dominion it would be a crime to flee, and from whose systematic tyranny there is no appeal? Every hour the eye of heaven would be called to witness ten thousand acts of oppression, unpunished, and unknown on earth save to the perpetrators and the sufferers. One fact will illustrate this. Lord Sligo was, for upwards of twelve months, ignorant of the daily practice of flogging females in the house of correction, at Spanish Town (the seat of the executive government), though the building in which those enormities were committed was within three hundred yards of the Governor's residence. We denounce the bill, not only because we believe it to be utterly impracticable—a mockery of the negroes' hopes—but because it seeks to regulate a system essentially and incurably unjust. The West India system is an outrage upon the rights of mankind; a high-handed violation of all the precepts of Christianity; a gigantic robbery upon the industry of the poor; a wicked denial of the blessings of the British Constitution to unoffending, loyal, and grateful subjects. And shall such a system—all attempts to modify or mitigate which have been worse than useless—shall such a system again be made the subject of experiment? Shall another attempt be made to change the spots

of the leopard, and teach those to do good who have been ever accustomed to do evil? Yet such an attempt is proposed in the bill of Lord Glenelg. He recommends palliatives which can never execute themselves. There is but one measure that can carry with it from this country an executory principle; a measure proclaiming the negro free to change his master; a measure annihilating, at once and for ever, the unrighteous dominion of the white man over the black man. Such a measure is that proposed by Lord Brougham—a measure ‘for putting an end to the apprenticeship of those who were formerly (we say are still) ‘slaves in the British Colonies.’ The friends of immediate emancipation must be watchful and determined. They must set their faces like flint against the wretched attempt of the Government, to patch up an unholy and anti-Christian system. They must sanction no more waste of legislation—no trusting of power or discretion to the planter. What is done must be done decisively and irrevocably. Otherwise, three years from this time we may be again summoned to leave our homes and occupations, required to put other great measures in abeyance, to reconstruct again the costly machinery of enlightenment and agitation, to effect that which may be now attained, if there be a judicious and uncompromising employment of the moral agency, placed at the disposal of those who have the conduct of the present movement.

We are aware it is contended by many that we are under a contract to give the West Indians the remaining two years of the apprenticeship; and that to disturb the present arrangement would be to violate a national engagement. This opinion we believe to be founded upon an erroneous view of the nature of the arrangement, and the prerogatives of Parliament. The Act of Abolition was a measure demanded by the nation, under a deep religious conviction of the radical injustice and cruelty of the system of colonial slavery, and it was finally determined, that whatever the loss or inconvenience to be incurred, that system should be utterly abolished. The Legislature, without asking the consent of the master, proceeded to legislate for the freedom of the slave, and decreed that, on the 1st of August, 1834, he should be absolutely and for ever manumitted. Taking, however, the circumstances of all parties into consideration, they resolved to set apart twenty millions, under the name of a compensation fund, to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss they might sustain, and to apprentice the negro for four or six years, according to his previous occupation, to promote thereby his industry, good conduct, and education. Let it never be forgotten that the entire movement was for the benefit of the negro, and that any sacrifice of wealth on the part of the nation, was a sacrifice *voluntarily* made to promote that object. The Parliament,

whether giving twenty millions to the master, or enacting the apprenticeship for the slave, were contracting with no party. They were proceeding upon certain independent views of expediency, and did what they did of their own accord and sovereign pleasure. How stands the case now? The money paid to the proprietors of slaves, they find was paid under a mistake; for no loss has been sustained, but, on the contrary, great gains realized, as is proved by the effects of freedom in Antigua. They find, also, that the apprenticeship was wholly unnecessary, and that, with great safety, and immediate advantage to all parties, the negroes might have been made free at once. Lastly, they discover that the system, which was intended to promote the good conduct of the negro, has placed him in a condition of aggravated suffering; and that, if they would vindicate the honour of the British nation, and fulfil the hopes, and maintain the rights of the negro, they must proceed to repeal the apprenticeship clause of the act, and abbreviate its duration by two years.

Can it be successfully argued that the power that at first decreed the extinction of slavery, and *made* the apprenticeship, is not fully competent to carry its own decree into fulfilment, or *unmake* that which is found to be equally unjust in principle, needless in policy, and oppressive in operation? But admitting, for a moment, that the Imperial Act is to be viewed in the light of a contract, just in principle, apparently sound in policy, and having a righteous object in view; yet if it be found, on experiment, not to secure its object, but to work out results the very opposite to those designed, it becomes the immediate duty of its originators to pronounce it null and void, and to substitute such other enactments as the justice and necessity of the case require. We, however, take higher ground. We hold it to be the duty of the British Parliament, in the sight of God, to cease at once from the crime of continuing the negro in a state of unnecessary restraint and uncompensated toil, exposed to the fury of unreasonable and wicked men—to deliver, by the power confided to them, the oppressed out of the hands of the spoiler—to be held back by no contracts, written or implied, which contravene the laws of God, and deprive men of their sacred and inalienable rights. We have noticed the supposed argument of a contract, because we have reason to believe it has presented a difficulty to the minds of some who are influenced by the loftiest principles, but were, notwithstanding, entangled in the meshes of West Indian sophistry.

The present aspect of the anti-slavery question is most encouraging. During the last month there has been a rapid advance of public feeling upon the subject. The magnificent speeches of Lord Brougham have been carried into every corner of the kingdom, and have enlightened and stimulated tens of thousands

who were previously ignorant, and therefore indifferent. Petitions in unprecedented numbers have been nightly presented to both Houses of Parliament. The work of conversion has been proceeding both amongst peers and commoners; and many distinguished men, including several right rev. prelates, have declared their conviction of the necessity of terminating the apprenticeship, and their intention to vote and speak in its behalf. The Marquis of Sligo, with a disinterestedness and magnanimity, which have already won for him the admiration of every British abolitionist, and will not fail to secure for him the blessing of the negro, has nobly resolved to declare his apprentices free on the 1st of August next. The island of Montserrat has resolved to do its duty. Both branches of the legislature have unanimously decided in favour of entire freedom on the 1st of August. The news from Barbadoes justifies the hope that that colony will not refuse to follow the example thus honourably presented.

The attendance at the great meetings recently held at Exeter Hall, afforded ocular demonstration the most convincing, of the unparalleled interest awakened by the renewed discussion of the question of negro freedom. While we write four hundred anti-slavery delegates, assembled from all parts of the United Kingdom are sitting in solemn deliberation at Exeter Hall. They are of one heart, and of one mind; and when they present themselves before the first lord of the Treasury and the chief Colonial Secretary as they will do this day, (the 28th) we trust they will not hesitate to utter the sentiments of the great nation whose awakened humanity and unquenchable hatred of African oppression they are appointed to represent. We are unfeignedly happy to find that the great leaders of the cause in previous struggles, have at last fully united with the parties who have recently been so honourably conspicuous in rousing the country, and bringing matters into their present cheering position. Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macauley yesterday put their names to a petition for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship. The venerable Thomas Clarkson has forwarded petitions to both Houses in his individual capacity. Dr. Lushington has visited and inspirited the delegates, and announced his intention of supporting Sir George Strickland's motion. To humbler names, however, belongs the credit of arousing and gathering and directing the omnipotent moral energy of the country. Counselling against agitating for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship—warned of the total impracticability of their measures—denied the countenance and support of the men standing high in influence and station—their motives not unfrequently arraigned—opposed by the force of those opinions which had been given against them, and which were industriously proclaimed throughout the land—frowned upon by the members of the cabinet, and made the objects of ridicule by time-serving and callous-

hearted politicians, the cry of 'division in the camp,' 'Mr. Buxton is against you,' exciting them at every step, they nevertheless went forth to proclaim aloud the wrongs of the captive, and summon the piety and humanity of their countrymen and countrywomen to the work of undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. Their call was answered. Every where the friends of human rights enrolled themselves under their banners. What money they wanted they obtained. Public meetings never before equalled in numbers, respectability, enthusiasm, and a union of otherwise conflicting parties, were held in every direction. They appealed to the women of Great Britain, and six hundred and thirty thousand stood at the foot of the throne to intercede for mercy to their manacled sisters in the British Colonies. Verily they have their reward. Four short months only have elapsed since the sound went forth, and now these same men sit surrounded by the wise and good of the land—their principles espoused, their plans adopted, and their triumph at hand. We regard the extraordinary effects which have followed the labours of the Central Emancipation Committee and their supporters in the country, as additional proofs of what may be effected by plain and humble men, energetically engaged in a good cause. Though scorned by the proud, forsaken by the timid, chided by the prudent, and reviled by the envious, their success is certain. And whenever that success is achieved, then shall they find themselves surrounded and applauded by those who will embark

On the smooth surface of a summer's sea
When gentle zephyrs play with prosperous gales,
And fortune's favours swell the spreading sails ;
But would forsake the ship and make the shore,
Should the winds whistle, and the tempests roar.

We await with anxiety the result of the motion to be brought forward by Sir George Strickland. We have heard a rumour that men in high places mean to try their strength with the petitioners for immediate emancipation—to nail their colours to the mast—and stand or fall by their darling bill. Let them beware ! One of two destinies awaits them. Should the Queen's ministers despise a nation's prayer, and mock a fettered race, and deprive their royal mistress of the imperishable glory she would acquire by the great act of righteousness and mercy now called for by the noblest and best of her subjects ; should they refuse to listen to the dictates of a generous patriotism, and determine upon consulting the wishes and 'interests of the planters,' should they persevere in their scheme of delusion and disappointment and delay, then let them prepare to read their dooms in the frown of an insulted and indignant nation ; let them set their house in order, and make ready to

bid 'a long farewell to all their greatness,' and to retire from that power they have so ignobly exercised, disgraced beyond any of their predecessors. Should they however awake to righteousness and though late determine upon granting a full measure of justice to the negro, they may yet regain the confidence they have sacrificed, and establish themselves in the power they have endangered. A few hours will show. Our prayer is that her Majesty's ministers may yield to the importunity of the friends of the oppressed—may place themselves at the head of the present great movement, and ere they gather round England's Queen to see the sceptre of dominion over these and distant isles placed in her hand, afford her an opportunity of doing a great act of national justice. Let them not enthrone her *the Queen of SLAVES*—rather let them enable her, when looking back upon a long reign of peace and prosperity to say, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was a robe and a diadem.'

Art. IX. *The Record Newspaper*: Dec. 4th, 1837; Feb. 5th, and Feb. 22nd, 1838.*

THE author of a recent article in this Review, on *Athens and the Athenians*, by Mr. Edward L. Bulwer, has had his attention called to sundry and successive attacks upon it, in the *Record* newspaper. These would have long ago been noticed, once for all, had he been aware of their existence; but not taking in, or habitually reading the *Record*, they remained unknown to him. He further finds, that the Editor of the *Patriot* most kindly vo-

* The Editor inserts this communication at the request of his respected correspondent. Its admirable spirit contrasts most honourably with the violence, acrimony, and false statements of the *Record*; while its mildness and courtesy are characteristic both of the gentleman and Christian. It was not the intention of the Editor to take any notice of the attacks on his Journal, made by the invisible conductors of the *Record*. When controversialists so systematically violate the courtesies of life and the obligations of truth, they are utterly unworthy of notice or reply. The *Record* has gained for itself an unenviable notoriety in this way. Loud in its professions of religious zeal and fierce in its denunciations of the lukewarmness and heresy of others, it has done more than any other journal of the day to make our holy faith a by-word and reproach among the ungodly. So far as the *Eclectic* is concerned, nothing is to be feared from its attacks; but alas for the state-church, when its advocates fight with such weapons.

lunteered an explanation; for which the very cordial thanks of the assailed party are hereby respectfully tendered.

The facts of the case are simply these. Mr. Bulwer published a moiety of his intended work, and the Reviewer contributed to the Eclectic an article distinctly describing itself as limited to a 'rapid glance at the events prior to the Peloponnesian war,' with an express reservation of those criticisms 'upon the literature and 'social life of the Athenians,' under which, remarks upon the religious or irreligious tendencies of the entire publication would naturally occur.

The Editor of the Record, on the 22nd of February, declares that the review was *obviously completed* according to the plan and intention of the Reviewer! He even proceeds to assert, that 'it 'was not till repeated censures had awakened a feeling of shame 'in the Eclectic, that a promise was given of a continuation of 'the Review.' Now let any reader refer to the number of the Eclectic in question, and satisfy himself about the matter. Only half the work of Bulwer, it must be remembered, was then out; nor has the other half, so far as the Reviewer knows, even as yet appeared. How can any candid person decide conclusively upon opinions, whether they are religious or irreligious, before in their entirety they are apparent? The Record may do so; but the Eclectic never will!

The article nevertheless animadverted, in a courteous manner, upon symptoms of opinion, such as were disapproved of by its writer;—but which, as must be again observed, he could not publicly condemn *in toto*, until they were *coram judice*. Let any six literary and pious persons, unbiassed by the sectarianism of the Record, go through the article, and ascertain whether the statements now made are fair ones, or otherwise. After a careful perusal, let them report, whether the Record be equally just and candid:—whether that journal has not dovetailed together certain extracts, unfairly detached from their contexts, in order to make the mosaic-work a foundation for its atrocious charges. The last adjective is used advisedly by the individual attacked, who is now held up to the Christian public 'as probably himself an unbeliever;' as 'apologizing for a blasphemous impeachment on the 'words of the Holy Ghost,' and so forth. See the Record, 4th Dec. 1837.

True it is, that the obnoxious Reviewer admires the genius and talents of Mr. Bulwer, as he would the eye of an eagle, or the goodly feathers of a peacock; but any unfriendliness, not to say hostility, towards the religion of Jesus Christ, he abhors, and always intended to denounce, wherever it might occur, when such irreligion should have appeared in a palpable,—proved,—and indictable form. This is affirmed upon the honour of a gentleman,—or as the writer would fain hope, upon the faith of a Christian.

The Reviewer happens to be a warmly attached member of the church of England; holding moreover, although doubtless with much human infirmity, those views of her doctrines and discipline, which, to avoid a periphrasis, are usually denominated evangelical. He wishes indeed to see his church separated from the state; but solely from his believing the connexion between them to be anti-scriptural,—injurious to Christendom at large,—and to the peculiar interests of that church herself. He claims no infallibility for his opinions; but they are conscientiously entertained, after deep deliberation, and much fervent prayer for direction on the subject. He is indeed neither a frequent reader, nor an admirer of the Record,—because he is thoroughly acquainted from circumstances, with the real history of that newspaper; with its extreme exclusiveness, its proved habits of systematic misrepresentation, and the fearful acrimony of its spirit. He knows some of its contributors, and many,—many of its subscribers. He knows, that its professions of holiness are high and loud: what its practice is, let any one, who can count five on his fingers, or peruse its columns, declare;—if they are disposed to do so.

The Reviewer, surely, need not be afraid of the Record: and he is not. He courts no man's smile; but he fears no man's frown. Let it not be imagined then, that his present tone and language are the results of trepidation. Without meaning to obtrude his faith or his feelings upon an indulgent public, he would merely forbear any return of 'railing for railing.' Being accused unjustly, he would attempt to explain himself, as he has now done: being reviled, he would bless; being persecuted, he would suffer it; being defamed, he would entreat. There was indeed a time, when his conduct might have been of another kind; when, perhaps, he would have taken the Record, or any other assailant, by the horns, and impaled so defective a reasoner on the broken point of his own argument. But a change, it is to be trusted, has come over his inner man: and without any compromise of attachment to the Episcopal Church, he has left the company of those, who are the reverse of its real friends. Many of them, however, he will never forget to pray for; and some of them he must always honour. But even when the voice is Jacob's voice while the hands are the hands of Esau,—although, like one of old, he may for that party's own sake, *tremble exceedingly*,—he will never render evil for evil, nor be provoked to uncover the nakedness of an enemy. Alas! how easily it might be done: *Haud ignota loquitur!* May the writer, and his assailant, be brought more and more into communion with One, 'whom having not seen we love; in whom, 'though now we see Him not, yet believing, we rejoice 'with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.'

In parting from the Record, an extract shall here be inserted of its recent language towards certain clergymen, and other

members of its own communion, on the fifth of February last. It is as follows :—‘ That this explicit statement of facts will stop ‘ the mouths of propagators of falsehoods, we do not believe ; but ‘ we make it, knowing that *lies continually repeated*, presently, if ‘ uncontradicted, assume the appearance of truth.’ Out of its own lips, and from its own pen, have fallen these veritable words ; and barring the use of a term or two, banished we had conceived from the intercommunications of gentlemen, these lines may revolve, we fear, like a double-edged sword, against their author, and his friends. They may rest assured finally, that, it is the Reviewer’s intention never again to rejoin to the assailing journalist ; however submissive may be his apologies, however offensive his violence, or however blighting the mildew of his insinuations. No ebullition of pride or contempt is hereby intended towards any part of the daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly press. The hint of the Record, that the Eclectic has now a limited circulation, can no longer apply : and the sarcasm drops, therefore, as a *telum imbellæ sine ictu*, to be returned with a smile. But the Reviewer has no taste for controversy : if continued, it would infringe upon his engagements, and, perhaps, impair his peace of mind. Henceforward then, so far as he at least is individually concerned, the Editor or Editors of the Record, for it would seem that there is a legion, must magnanimously beat the air ! The writer of the article on Bulwer, grievously misrepresented as he has been, hereby gives his adversaries a *carte-blanche* for all transgressions, past, present, and to come. He may still be spoken against, or ridiculed ; but he will turn from the reproaches of the creature to the cross of the Saviour ; there to learn obedience to the new commandment, and heap coals of fire upon the heads of persecutors and slanderers. He would exclaim with the pious and pensive Cowper,

‘ Since the dear hour, that brought me to thy foot,
And cut up all my follies by the root,
I never trusted in an arm but thine,
Nor hop’d but in thy righteousness divine :—
Cast at thy glorious feet, mine only plea
Is what it was, dependence upon Thee :
While struggling in the vale of tears below,
That never failed, nor shall it fail me now.’

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, collected by himself. In Ten Volumes. Vol. I. to V. Longman and Co. 1837.

We duly announced the *commencement* of this publication ; and we now, as it is half finished, beg to remind our readers of its *progress*,

reserving till its *conclusion* a more extended notice of the whole. The four volumes last published, fully deserve all the praise which we bestowed on the first. They have been edited and got up with the utmost taste and elegance; and, when completed, the work will well deserve a place beside the popular editions of Byron and others.

A History of British Reptiles. By THOMAS BELL, F.R.S., F.L.S., Professor of Zoology in King's College, London. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, with some of the Varieties, and numerous Vignettes. Part. I. 8vo. London: John Van Voorst. 1838.

Little need be said in recommendation of this work. It is enough to refer the intelligent reader to Professor Bell's History of British Quadrupeds, and to say that his present undertaking is commenced in the same style, and promises an equally successful result. The habits of British Reptiles are but little known; and several species are, in consequence, shunned and destroyed without provocation or offence. 'The elucidation of their habits, the distinctive description of the species, their geographical distribution, and the history of the transformation of all the amphibious forms,' are the topics to which Professor Bell's attention will be directed; and we doubt not that his work will constitute a highly important addition to the natural history of our country. The beauty of the typography, and wood-cuts, is in happy keeping with the literary character of the work.

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, with Remarks on the Commentaries of Dr. Macknight, Professor Tholuck, and Professor Moses Stuart. By Robert Haldane, Esq. Vol. II.

Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern; being a History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: comprehending a Description of these Countries, &c. By Andrew Chrichton, LL.D., and Henry Wheaton, LL.D. 2 Vols. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library.)

The Beast and his Image; or the Pope and the Council of Trent. With the Number, Name, and Mark of the Pope; and the Mark of his name in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, being a Commentary upon Revelation XIII. By Frederick Fysh, A.M.

British Colonization and Coloured Tribes. By S. Bannister, late Attorney-General of New South Wales.

Queen Elizabeth and her Times; a Series of Original Letters, selected from the inedited Private Correspondence of Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, &c. Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A.

Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England, from the twelfth century. By Hannah Lawrance.

Lectures on Revivals of Religion. By Charles G. Finney.

Lectures, illustrating the Contrast between True Christianity and various other Systems. By W. B. Sprague, D.D.

The Little Sanctuary. A Series of Domestic Prayers, for Morning and Evening, during Four Weeks: to which are added, Offices for Special Occasions. By the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton.

Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism, and on Subjects introductory to the Critical Study of the Scriptures. By the Rev. S. Macgill, D.D.